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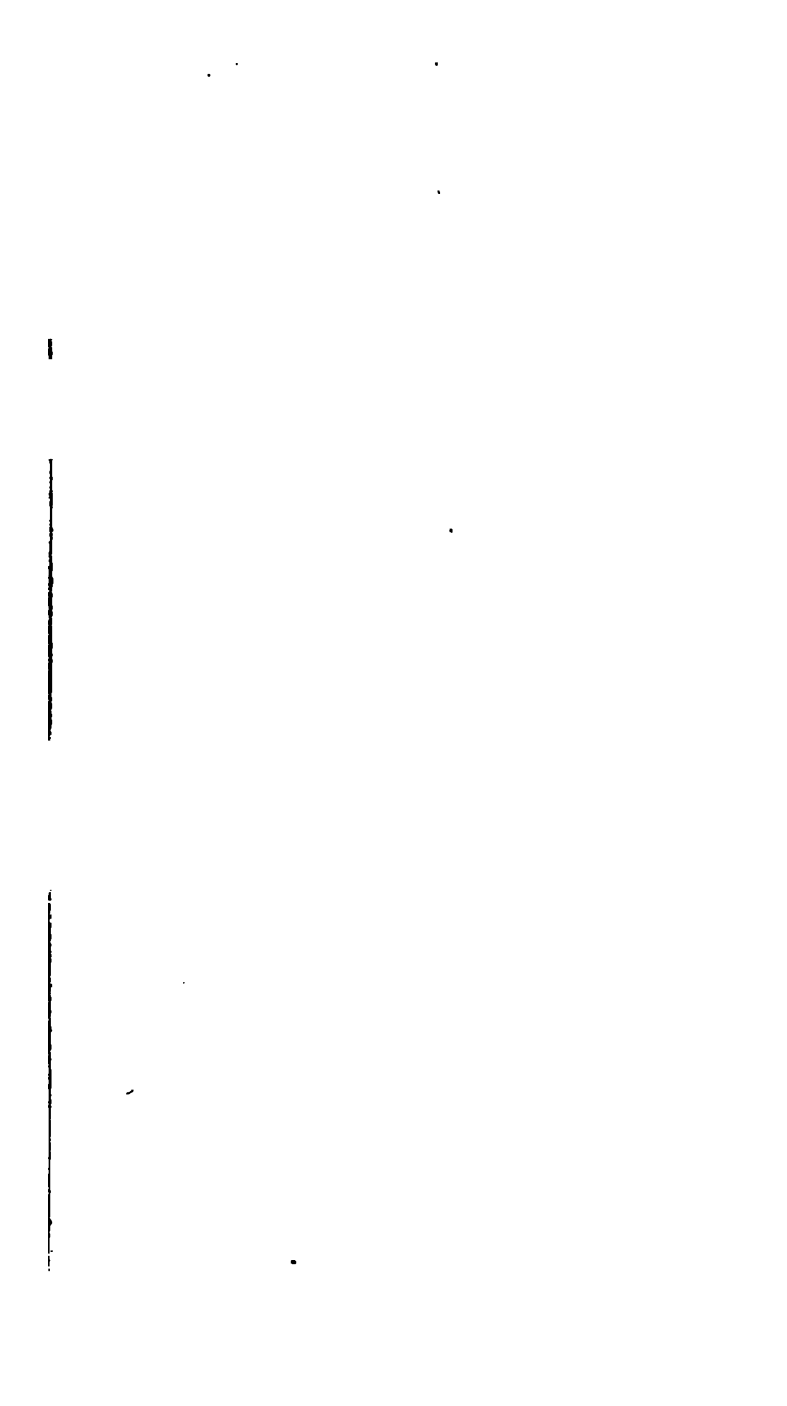
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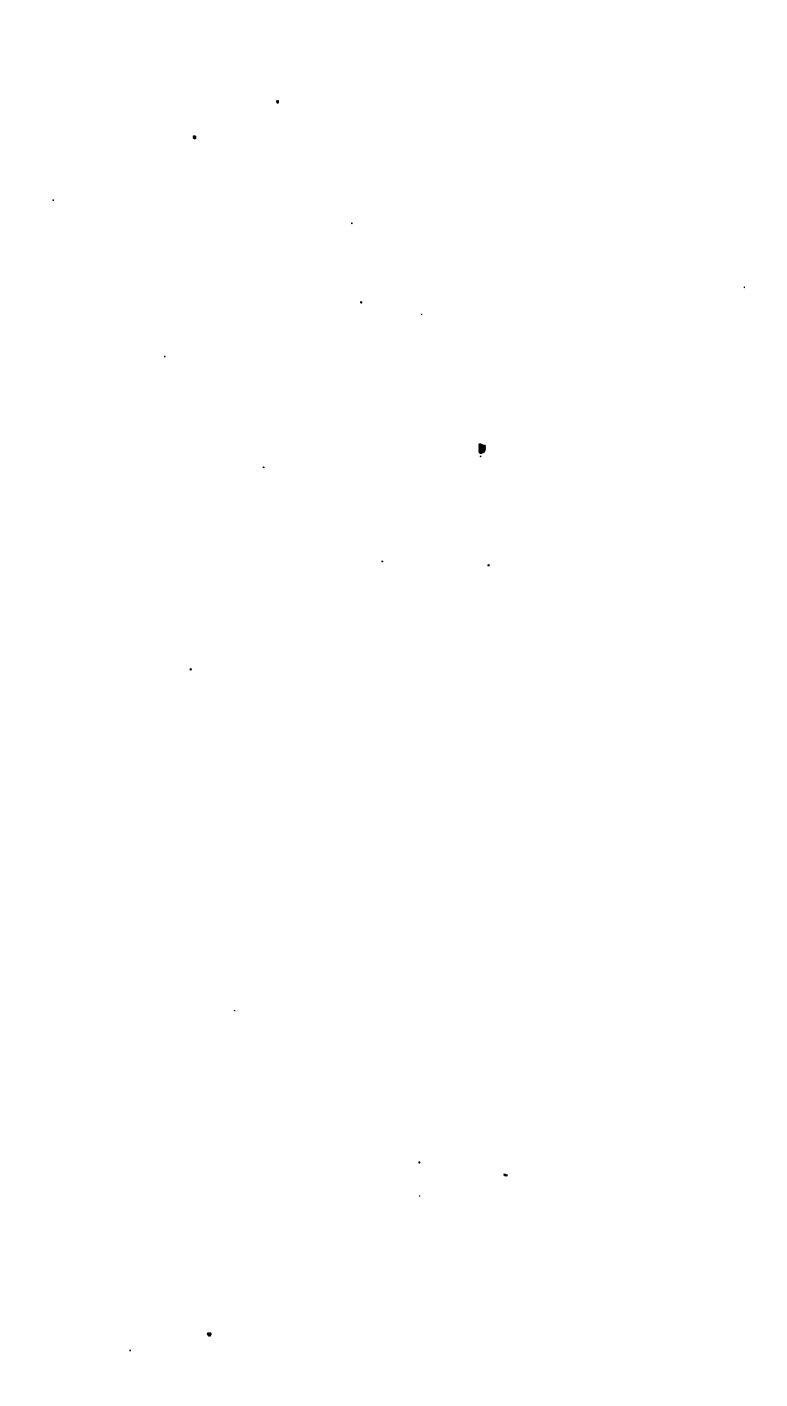
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AUGUST, 1911





Scott
NCC



Illustrations,
CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL,
AND MISCELLANEOUS,
OF
NOVELS
BY THE AUTHOR OF WAVERLEY.

BY THE
REVEREND RICHARD WARNER,
RECTOR OF GREAT CHALFIELD, WILTS.

*Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet inum.*

Horace.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,
PATER-NOSTER-ROW.

1824.

natural philosophy, one of its most important *desiderata* was to extract, from the products of the mineral and vegetable world, substances that should be available to the attainment of these highly valuable ends. The crucible and the alembic were set to work; and that addition was made to the other vain pursuits of man, which the old Latin proverb has so well defined, *ars sine arte, cujus principium est mentiri, medium laborare, et finis mendicare*; an art and no art; whose beginning is a lie, whose progress is toil, and whose end is beggary. To determine the æra of the commencement of this delusion is, perhaps, impossible; and would be useless, were it practicable. The period when an error stole into existence is of little importance. The history of its growth and effects; and the time, causes, and means of its extinction, are the only circumstances connected with the knowledge of it, which can improve or gratify the mind. But, if it were thought worth while to throw away a moment on its origin, we should say, it seems probable that alchymy, with all its tedious processes, and wild expectations,

is to be attributed to the inventive genius, and warm fancy, of the Eastern nations. We, at least, find it flourishing, in full maturity, among the superstitious Egyptians, at the close of the third century; when the Emperor Dioclesian, either a believer in, or a despiser of, it, caused a diligent enquiry to be made “for all the ancient books which treated of the admirable art of making gold and silver; and, without pity, committed them to the flames.”* The time, however, when alchymy became properly an art, by being reduced to written rules, could not be of very remote antiquity, since, as Mr. Gibbon goes on to

* John of Antioch, from whom Gibbon quotes this passage, goes on to say, that Dioclesian was apprehensive lest the opulence of the Egyptians should inspire them with confidence to rebel against the empire. “But,” observes the historian, “if Dioclesian had been convinced of the reality of that valuable art, far from extinguishing the memory, he would have converted the operation of it to the benefit of the public revenue. It is much more likely that his good sense discovered to him the folly of such magnificent pretensions, and that he was desirous of preserving the reason and fortunes of his subjects from the mischievous pursuit.—Decline and Fall Roman Empire, v. ii. p. 137.

remark, the *ancient books* (just mentioned) so liberally ascribed to Pythagoras, to Solomon, or to Hermes, were the pious frauds of more recent adepts. The Greeks were inattentive either to the use or the abuse of chemistry. In that immense register where Pliny has deposited the discoveries, the arts, and the errors of mankind, there is not the least mention of the transmutation of metals; and the persecution of Dioclesian is the first authentic event in the history of alchemy. The conquest of Egypt by the Arabs diffused that vain science over the globe. Congenial to the avarice of the human heart, it was studied in China, as in Europe, with equal eagerness, and with equal success. The darkness of the middle ages ensured a favourable reception to every tale of wonder; and the revival of learning gave new vigour to hope, and suggested more specious arts of deception.

In this advanced stage of its progress, alchemy found its way into Britain; and, long before the reign of Queen Elizabeth, an ardent affection for its delusions lay at the bottom of the heart of many of our most

learned and philosophical men. In the more intellectual among them the folly had something of virtue in it, for they fed their fancies with the hope of discoveries which should aggrandize their country, or render their own names immortal; but, with the selfish or sensual adepts, the motives were ignoble, and the anticipations gross; for they dreamt only of those enjoyments, which Ben Johnson has made Sir Epicure Mammon contemplate, as the rich and certain harvest of the discovery of the grand arcanum :

“ My mists

I'll have of perfume, vapour'd round the room
To lose ourselves in; and my baths like pits
To fall into, from whence we will come forth
And roll ourselves in gossamer and roses.

“ My meat shall all come in, in Indian shells,
Dishes of agate set in gold, and studded
With em'ralds, sapphires, hiacynths, and rubies.

“ My shirts

I'll have of taffeta sarsnet, soft and light
As cobwebs; and for all my other raiment,
It shall be such as might provoke the Persian,
Were he to teach the world riot anew.”

Whatever might be the fallaciousness, however, of the promises of alchymy, the folly of its means, or the absurdity of its expect-

tations; yet it found, in our own country, not only private acceptance, but public encouragement. The law of the land took the veritable adept under its protection; and, while it promulgated its prohibitions and punishments against impostors, charletans, and mere pretenders; it provided that the search of the grand arcanum should be prosecuted in quiet and safety, by those whom it deemed to be worthy of such a sanction.

In the year 1449, the alchymy-smitten Robert Bolton humbly applies to Henry VI. for letters patent, to authorise him to exercise his processes without the interruption of certain persons, who falsely accused him of pursuing an illicit art, (*supponunt ipsum per artem illicitam operare,*) and obtains from the king a license for life, to transfer, or transubstantiate, ever or any imperfect metal into perfect gold or silver.*

In the year 1452, a similar license, for the same purpose, and to the same effect, was granted by Henry to John Mistelden.†

* *Rymer's Fœdera*, tom. xi. p. 240.

† *Ib.* p. 307.

Another license occurs, under the year 1456, which authorises three persons (John Fauceby, John Kirkeby, and John Rayny, (*eruditissimi in scientiis naturalibus*,) to make the *elixir of life*, and the *philosopher's stone*, without let or obstruction. It states, that, whereas certain ancient, wise, and most famous philosophers had taught and handed down, in their books and writings, that it was possible to produce from wine, precious stones, oils, animals, and vegetables, many glorious and notable medicines, and more especially a certain most precious medicine, which some called the *mother and empress of philosophers*; others, the *inestimable glory*; others, the *quint-essence* (*quintam essentiam*); and others, the *stone of philosophers*, and the *elixir of life*; and that, whereas, the virtue of this medicine was such, that it would cure all curable diseases, lengthen life, preserve the bodily powers and intellectual faculties in original perfection to the close of existence; that it would, moreover, heal, without difficulty, all wounds capable of being healed; would prove a certain antidote to poison; and

transmute other metals into the *veriest gold*, and the *finest silver*; therefore, his Majesty, reflecting how useful and delectable such a discovery, if effected, would be to himself and his dominions, had conceded permission to the above-named triumvirate to proceed in their investigations, jointly and severally, according to their own discretion, and to the rules and processes directed by their learned predecessors.* And, not further to multiply examples, we have, in Rymer, a fourth royal privilege recorded, granted to William Savage, Hugo Hurdeleston, and Henry Hyne, to transmute metals into gold and silver, as freely and uninterruptedly as Richard Trevys, doctor in theology, John Billok, and William Downes, had heretofore been permitted to do.†

We have already hinted that such sanctions as the above were necessary to render alchymical processes legal acts; for both religion and law had prohibited the *general* prosecution of them. Pious Papists had been deterred from alchymy by a constitution of Pope John XXII. in the year 1316; and, in England, the

* Ib. p. 379.

† Ib. p. 462.

statute passed in the fifth of Henry IV. had denounced the practice, under severe pains and penalties. "None, from henceforth," says the Act, "shall use to multiply gold or silver, or use the craft of multiplication; and if any the same do, he shall incur the pain of felony."* But legal restrictions contend in vain against the powerful propensities of avarice. Where the prospect of gain is great, prohibitions will be disregarded, and the most formidable risks encountered: the smuggler will continue to run his goods, in defiance of fine and incarceration; and Waylands and Alascoes will never be wanting to back the folly of their deluded patrons. The search of the panacea, and the stone which was to "turn all it touched to gold," was pursued with ardour, though silently and secretly, through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and only entirely disappeared at that recent period, when true science demonstrated to common sense the absurdity of the pursuit, and the vanity of its expectations.

* Stat. at large, 5 Henry IV. Lord Coke says, that this is the shortest Act of parliament that ever came within his knowledge.

During the period of this triumph of alchemy, we have many recorded instances of credulity on the one hand, and imposture on the other, in the prosecution of its mysteries. An author who wrote in the year 1740, presents us with the following anecdote concerning an alchymical speculation, which was undertaken towards the conclusion of the seventeenth century :

“ The late Duke of Buckingham, being over-persuaded by a pack of knaves who called themselves chymical operators, that they had the secret of producing the philosopher’s stone, but wanted money to carry on the process : his Grace engaged to assist them with money for the purpose, and performed his promise at a vast expense. A laboratory was built, utensils provided, and the family filled with the most famous artists in the transmutation of metals ; adepts of a superior class, who would concern themselves only about the *grand elixir* ; and a pack of shabby curs, to attend the fires and do other servile offices ; and yet, forsooth, must be, also, called philosophers.

“ This great charge continued upon the Duke for some years ; for, whoever was unpaid, or whatever was neglected, money must be found to bear the charge of the laboratory, and pay the operators, till this chimæra, with other extravagances, had caused the mortgaging and selling many fine manors, lordships, towns, and good farms.

“ All this time, nothing was produced by these sons of art of any value ; for either the glass broke, or the man was drunk and let out the fire, or some other misfortune still attended the grand process, at the time assigned for a *je ne sçai quoi* to be produced, that must turn all things to gold. The Duke, at length, encountering nothing but disappointments, and the operators finding themselves slighted, and money very difficult to be had, the project fell to the ground.”*

As late as the days of Mrs. Manly, also, the authoress of the *Atalantis*, a most singular delusion of alchymy is related to have taken place. From the circumstances of the account;

* A quotation in D'Israeli's *Cur. Lit.* v. i. p. 210.

it is very probable that the sage was not less deceived than his patroness.

“It appears that a lady, who was an infatuated lover of this delusive art, met with one who pretended to have the power of transmuting lead into gold. This hermetic philosopher required only the materials and time, to perform his golden operations. He was taken to the country residence of his patroness; a long laboratory was built; and that his labours might not be impeded by any disturbance, no one was permitted to enter it. His door was contrived to turn round on a spring; so that, unseeing and unseen, his meals were conveyed to him without disturbing the sublime contemplations of the sage.

“During a residence of two years, he never condescended to speak but two or three times to his infatuated patroness. When she was admitted into the laboratory, she saw, with pleasing astonishment, stills, immense cauldrons, long flues, and three or four vulcanian fires, blazing at different corners of this magical mine: nor did she behold, with less reverence, the venerable figure of the dusty philosopher.

Pale and emaciated with daily operations, and nightly vigils, he revealed to her, in unintelligible jargon, his processes; and, having some times condescended to explain the mysteries of the arcana, she beheld, or seemed to behold, streams of fluid, and heaps of solid ore, scattered round the laboratory. Sometimes he required a new still; and sometimes vast quantities of lead. Already this unfortunate lady had expended the half of her fortune, in supplying the demands of the philosopher. She began, now, to lower her imagination to the standard of reason. Two years had elapsed; vast quantities of lead had gone in, and nothing but lead had come out. She disclosed her sentiments to the philosopher. He candidly confessed, he was now himself surprised at his tardy progress, but that he would exert himself to the utmost, and that he would venture to perform a laborious operation, which he had hitherto hoped he should not be necessitated to employ. His patroness retired, and the golden visions of expectation resumed all their lustre.

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“ One day, as they sat at dinner, a terrible shriek, and one crack followed by another, loud as the report of a cannon, assailed their ears. They hastened to the laboratory ; two of the greatest stills had burst ; one part of the laboratory was in flames ; and the deluded philosopher scorched to death.”*

The above speculation and its result seem to have suggested to our author the processes, and their termination, of his own alchemist, *Demetrius Alasco*. We ourselves have a faint recollection of a circumstance somewhat similar, which occurred, many years since, in New Bond-street, London.

A man-milliner, (as the trade was then denominated,) by the name of *White*, who was much devoted to the secret processes of the gaseous chymistry, had discovered a fluid composition, which he called *White's Chemical Fever Tincture* ; and which, we believe, bore the character of a very successful febrifuge. His operations were conducted in solitude and silence ; no one of the family being permitted to enter his little darkened room while he

* D'Israeli's Cur. Lit. vol. i. page 196.

was engaged in them. Such was their fascination, that appetite and weariness summoned in vain the adept to refection and repose : while the processes were advancing, nothing could drive him from his cell and his retort. The family had one night retired to bed, when they were suddenly roused from their slumbers by a dreadful report in the laboratory below. They started from their beds, and rushed into the prohibited room ; which they found filled with smoke, while all the frangible chymical apparatus was shivered into atoms. The operator himself lay senseless on the floor. A large retort had been burst by an elastic gas ; and a fragment of it had literally *cut out* one of Mr. White's eyes. He recovered from the effects of the accident, and had the hardihood to persevere in the preparation of the fluid ; but carried on his processes with more caution than before, still in secrecy and solitude. He never communicated his secret to any one, and the useful remedy was lost when he died.

Subsequently, however, to the misadventure of Mr. White, other true believers and prac-

tioners have lost ease, and health, and money, in their alchymical speculations. The celebrated *Peter Woulfe*, according to Mr. Brande, laboured under this malady. "He occupied," says he, "chambers in Bernard's Inn, while residing in London, and usually spent the summer in Paris. His rooms, which were extensive, were so filled with furnaces and apparatus, that it was difficult to reach his fireside. A friend told me, that he once put down his hat, and never could find it again, such was the confusion of boxes, packages, and parcels, that lay about the chamber. His breakfast-hour was four in the morning; a few of his select friends were occasionally invited to this repast, to whom a secret signal was given, by which they gained entrance, knocking a certain number of times at the inner door of his apartment. He had long vainly searched for the *elixir*; and attributed his repeated failures to want of due preparation by pious and charitable acts. I understand that some of his apparatus is still extant, upon which are supplications for success, and for the welfare of the adepts. Whenever he

wished to break an acquaintance, or felt himself offended, he resented the supposed injury by sending a present to the offender, and never seeing him afterwards. These presents were sometimes of a curious description ; and consisted, usually, of some expensive chymical product or preparation. He had an heroic remedy for illness : when he felt himself seriously indisposed, he took a place in the Edinburgh mail, and having reached that city, immediately came back, in the returning mail, to London. A cold taken on one of these expeditions terminated in an inflammation on the lungs, of which he died in 1805.”*

A still more recent enthusiast (and perhaps the last) in these drivellings of science carried on his laborious but hopeless researches after the grand arcana of alchymy, and terminated them in similar disappointment. He died, half-starved, in London, a few years ago, an editor of an evening journal ; and expected to compound the alcahest, if he could only keep his materials digested in a lamp furnace for the space of seven years,

* Brande's Hist. of Chymistry, page 25.

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The lamp burned brightly during six years, eleven months, and some odd days, and then, unluckily, went out. Why it went out, the adept could never guess; but he was certain, that if the flame would only have burned to the end of the septenary cycle, his experiment must have succeeded.*

An excellent portrait of one of these *smitten sages*, during the delights of anticipation, the intenseness of operation, and under the surprise of disappointment, is given us by a lively writer in a periodical publication.

“All the sad experience which he obtains cannot suffice for his instruction. Retorts burst; crucibles are shivered in the glee; the projection evaporates in reek and fume; but the alchymist is not to be roused from his day-dream. Again he returns to the laboratory: he refills the alembic and the aludel; and the bath of Mary is prepared anew. Salt, sulphur, and mercury are blended in proportioned measure; and once more the parched disciple of Geber watches the concoction of the tincture and the menstruum, whilst

* Quarterly Review, No. li.

he nourishes the slow reverberating flames of the athanor. His diligence abates not with his increasing age : his auburn air has become grey, his limbs are shrunk, but still he labours without intermission. Years roll on : the colours of the liquid change ; it reflects the azure hue, which gradually softens into the play of the opal ; and at length the iridescent tints concentrate into the gleam of the orient ruby. Breathless and feverish, he hails the appearances which the mystic sages of the East have taught him to consider as the tokens that the great work is fast approaching to its consummation. He rejoices. His toils are terminated ; and the *elixir* is in his power. But, at the very moment of joy, he discovers again that fate denies the boon ; and the transmutation is as ineffectual as when young in spirit he first read the perplexed allegories in which he has so long placed his trust. And yet he will not learn the truth ; but with hopeless eagerness returns again to the madness, which lives in him even until he expires.”*

* Ib.—*Penotus*, who died at ninety-eight years of age,

But while we deride or pity these devotees to an irrational and vain employ, followed up by the sacrifice of health, ease, and treasure, it is well for us to recollect, that modern science stands much indebted to their persevering labours. Chymistry is the fair offspring of its monstrous sire, Alchymy. The numberless and diversified experiments of these adepts produced something better than the gold of which they were in search. These efforts gave birth to the *docimastic art*. The indefatigable alchymist threw flashes of light on that which before was as dark and disordered as chaos. He penetrated "the palpable obscure;" and pointed out to those who followed him, either by his discoveries or mistakes, the path which would lead the son of true science to the bright and glorious day.

in the hospital of Sierdon, in Switzerland, had spent nearly his whole time in the search of the philosopher's stone; and being at length from affluent circumstances reduced to beggary and reason, was accustomed to say, that if he had a mortal enemy that he durst not encounter openly, he would advise him, above all things, to give himself up to the study and practice of alchymy.—D'Israeli's *Cur. Lit.* vol. i. page 200.

Had the world never seen a Geber and a Paracelsus, and the train of alchymists included between the ages of the two, it is probable that it would never have boasted such ornaments of science, as Priestly, Watson, Beddoes, and the illustrious Davy.

AMUSEMENTS.

Nothing more decidedly marks the degree of refinement to which a nation has arrived, than the character of the *amusements* that are popular among the higher classes of its community. In proportion as these diversions are adapted to exercise the faculties of the understanding, or to interest the good feelings of the heart, in the same proportion will the country be found to have ascended in the scale of civilization. If we apply this test of relative improvement to the Elizabethan age, we shall form but a low opinion of the condition of society, as far as manners are concerned, in our own country, in the sixteenth

century. Nothing intellectual had, as yet, found its way into the fashionable pleasures of the courtly and the gay. There were, it is true, certain "master spirits" among the great, who cultivated, in private, the pursuits of mind ; and who, probably, looked with a smile of contempt on the modes of amusement which were then almost universally resorted to ; but it is clear that "the million," with the queen at their head, sought their chief entertainment in sights and practices, as little sanctioned by taste and intellect, as they were by humanity and politeness. Even theatric exhibitions, which form the first stepping-stone in a nation's emersion from grossness and barbarism to general civility, met with but a cold and partial patronage. Several playhouses, indeed, had been established ; Shakespeare was writing for their service ; and the queen had a company of players, (or, as they were called, *her children*,) who might perform his immortal productions ; but so unrefined were the propensities of Elizabeth and her nobility, that the petition of Orson Pinnet, which prayed for an

interdiction of theatric exhibitions on Thursdays, (inasmuch as they interfered with the public *bear-baitings*,) was successful: an order of the privy council in July, 1591, grants the application; and an injunction to that effect was sent to the lord-mayor, wherein it is stated, that, “in divers places, the players do use to recite their plays, to the great hurt and destruction of the game of *bear-baiting*, and *like pastimes*, which are maintained for her Majesty’s pleasure.”

The author of the novel of Kenilworth, with a due observance of the manners and customs of its epoch, has touched these peculiar features of them, the popular amusements, with much spirit and accuracy; so that a very good general idea may be formed of the *pageant*, and the *masque*, the *bear-baiting*, the *bride-ale*, the *quintain*, and the *Hock-tide*, which afforded such high gratification to the august circle assembled at Leicester’s castle.

The very soul of the *pageant* was motley allegory. Personifications of virtues, vices, and abstract ideas, made up most of its cha-

traciers ; whilst its *plan* or *story* combined together fragments of the ancient mystery, and incidents and persons of the romantic ages, mingled with the mummary of old superstitions, and the newly-imported fictions of pagan mythology. Its zenith may properly be attributed to the reign of Henry VIIIth, when it first acquired its incongruous classical adjuncts ; but during the Elizabethan age it maintained much of its splendour, and all its popularity. The entertaining chronicles of Hall, Hollinshed, and other early English writers, afford us many minute accounts of these gorgeous but tasteless exhibitions, during the sixteenth century ; and our novelist has well detailed their quaintnesses in his description of the out-of-door sports at Kenilworth Castle. But the former are too tedious for insertion ; and with the latter the reader is sufficiently familiar. We proceed, therefore, to another popular amusement of these past times—the *masque*.

This favourite entertainment had many features in common with the *pageant* ; but differed from it in other particulars. They

were both allegorical, and compounded of similar characters and representations ; but the pageant involved more of shew in it ; was on a larger scale ; and generally exhibited *sub dio* : While the masque assumed more of the dramatic character ; was enlivened with poetical recitation ; had less of the extravagant in its plan ; a better taste in its conception ; and was always performed within the house. We may judge, indeed, of what nature this entertainment had been in its earlier day, by the masques of Ben Jonson and Milton, which shew us what it was when it had attained its perfection.* It appears, however, that some-

* Among the masques composed by Ben Jonson, for the entertainment of the Court, one of the most ingenious was presented on the surrender of Theobalds to King James, 22d May, 1607, from which the following is an extract :

“ The king and queen, with the Princes of Wales and Lorrain, and the nobility, being entered into the gallery, after dinner there was seen nothing but a traverse of white across the room ; which suddenly drawn, discovered a gloomy, obscure place, hung all with black silks, and in it only one light, which the Genius of the house held, sadly attired ; his cornucopia ready to fall out of his hand ; his garland

times the masque and the pageant were blended together ; but in this case the appa-

drooping on his head ; his eyes fixed on the ground ; when out of his pensive posture, after some little pause, he brake, and began :

“ Let not your glories darken, to behold
 The place, and me, her Genius, here so sad ;
 Who, by bold rumour, have been lately told,
 That I must change the loved lord I had.
 And he, now in the twilight of sere age,
 Begin to seek a habitation new,
 And all his fortunes and himself engage
 Unto a seat his fathers never knew ;
 And I, uncertain what I must endure,
 Since all the ends of destiny are obscure.

“ Mercury appears to the despondent Genius, accompanied by a boy, representing Good Event, together with the Fatal Sisters, who announce to him,

“ When underneath thy roof is seen
 The greatest king and fairest queen,
 With princes an unmatched pair—
 One, hope of all the earth, their heir;
 The other stiled of Lorrain,
 Their blood, and sprung from Charlemagne—
 When all these glories jointly shine,
 And fill thee with a heat divine,
 And these reflected, do beget
 A splendid sun, shall never set,

ratus of the latter was upon a smaller scale,
and the scene of action within the mansion:

But here shine fixed, to affright
All after hopes of following night:
Then, Genius, is thy period come
To change thy lord: thus fates do doom.

“ Upon which the consoled Genius breaks forth
into the following rapture :

“ Mourn'd I before? Could I commit a sin
So much 'gainst kind or knowledge, to protract
A joy, to which I should have ravish'd been,
And never shall be happy till I act.
Vouchsafe, fair Queen, my patron's zeal in me,
Who fly with fervour, as my fate commands,
To yield these keys; and wish that you could see
My heart as open to you as my hands.
There might you read my faith, my thoughts. But, oh,
My joys, like waves, each other overcome!
And gladness drowns, where it begins to flow—
Some greater pow'rs speak out, for mine are
dumb.

“ At this the place was filled with rare and choice
music, to which was heard the following song, deli-
vered by an excellent voice, and the burden main-
tained by the whole quire :

SONG.

“ Oh! blessed change!
And not less glad than strange!

A very curious description of an amusement of this kind is found in Winwood; which was given at court by Anne, the wife of James I. "At night," says he, "we had the queen's *mask* in the banqueting-house, or rather her *pageant*. There was a great engine at the lower end of the room, which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses, with other terrible fishes, which were ridden by Moors: the indecorum was, that there was all fish and no water. At the farther end there was a great shell, in the form of a scallop,

Where we that lose have won,
And for a beam enjoy a sun.

CHORUS.

So little sparks become great fires,
And high rewards crown low desires.

SONG.

Was ever bliss
More full or clear than this !
The present month of May
Ne'er look'd so fresh as doth this day.

CHORUS.

So gentle winds breed happy springs,
And duty thrives by breath of kings."

wherein were four seats; on the lowest sat the queen, with my Lady Bedford; on the rest were placed the Ladies Suffolk, Derby, Rich, Effingham, Ann Herbert, Susan Herbert, Elizabeth Howard, Walsingham, and Bevil. Their apparel was rich, but too light and courtezan-like for such great ones. Instead of vizzards, their faces and arms up to the elbows were painted black; which was disguise sufficient, for they were hard to be known; but it became them nothing so well as their red and white; and you cannot imagine a more ugly sight than a troop of lean-cheeked Moors. The Spanish and Venetian ambassadors were both present, and sat by the king in state; at which Monsieur Beaumont quarrels so extremely, that he saith the whole court is Spanish. But, by his favour, he should fall out with none but himself, for they were all indifferently invited to come as friends to a private sport; which he refusing, the Spanish ambassador willingly accepted; and being there, seeing no cause to the contrary, he put off *Don Taxis*, and took upon him *el Senor Embassador*, wherein he outstript our

little Monsieur. He was privately at the first mask, and sat among his men disguised. At this he was taken out to dance, and footed it like a lusty old gallant with his country-woman. He took out the queen, and forgot not to kiss her hand, though there was danger it would have left a mark upon his lips. The night's work was concluded with a banquet in the great chamber; which was so furiously assaulted, that down went tables and tresses, before one bit was touched. They say the Duke of Holst will come upon us with an after reckoning; and that we shall see him on Candlemas night in a mask, as he hath shewed himself a lusty reveller all this Christmas."* For a still more remarkable description of a courtly revel, associating the features of the pageant with the masque, we are indebted to the pen of Sir John Harington, who has seasoned it with a large portion of his own quaint wit.

" *To Mr. Secretary Barlow.* 1606.

" My good Friend,—In compliance with your asking, now shall you accept my poor

* Memorials, vol. ii. page 44.

account of rich doings. I came here a day or two before the Danish King came ; and from the day he did come, till this hour, I have been well nigh overwhelmed with carousal and sports of all kinds. The sports began each day in such manner and such state, as well nigh persuaded me of Mahomet's paradise. We had women, and, indeed, wine too, of such plenty, as would have astonished each beholder. Our feasts were magnificent ; and the two royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at table. I think the Dane hath strangely wrought on our good English nobles ; for those whom I could never get to taste good liquor, now follow the fashion, and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication. In good sooth, the Parliament did kindly to provide his Majesty so seasonably with money, for there hath been no lack of good living—shews, sights, and banquetings, from morn to eve.

“ One day a great feast was held ; and after dinner the representation of Solomon his Temple, and the coming of the Queen of

Sheba, was made, or (as I may better say) was meant to have been made, before their Majesties, by device of the Earl of Salisbury and others. But, alas! as all earthly things do fail to poor mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our presentment thereof. The lady who did play the queen's part did carry most precious gifts to both their Majesties; but forgetting the steps arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish Majesty's lap, and fell at his feet, though I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand to make all clean. His Majesty then got up, and would dance with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down, and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber, and laid on a bed of state; which was not a little defiled with the presents of the queen, which she had bestowed upon his garments, such as wine, cream, jelly, beverage, cakes, spices, and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forwards, and most of the presenters went backwards, or fell down; wine did so occupy their upper chambers. Now

did appear, in rich dress, Hope, Faith, and Charity. Hope did assay to speak, but wine rendered her endeavours so feeble, that she withdrew, and hoped the king would excuse her brevity. Faith was then all alone ; for I am certain she was not joined to good works ; and left the court in a staggering condition. Charity came to the king's feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed : in some sort she made obeysance, and brought gifts ; but said she would return home again, as there was no gift which Heaven had not already given to his majesty. She then returned to Hope and Faith, who were both sick and —— in the lower hall. Next came Victory, in bright armour, and presented a rich sword to the king, who did not accept, but put it by with his hand ; and, by a strange medley of versification, did endeavour to make suit to the king : but Victory did not triumph long ; for, after much lamentable utterance, she was led away as a silly captive, and laid to sleep in the outer steps of the antichamber. Now did Peace make entry, and strive to get foremost to the king : but I

grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of her attendants; and, much contrary to her semblance, made rudely war with her olive branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming.

“ I have much marvelled at those strange pageantries, and they do bring to my remembrance what passed of this sort in our queen’s days ; of which I was some time an humble presenter and assistant : but I ne’er did see such lack of good order, discretion, and sobriety, as I have now done. I have passed much time in seeing the royal sports of hunting and hawking, where the manners were such, as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not man in quest of exercise and food. I will now, in good sooth, declare to you, who will not blab, that the gunpowder fright hath got out of all our heads, and we are going on hereabouts, as if the devil was contriving every man to blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance. The great ladies do go well *masked* ; and, indeed, it be the only shew of their modesty, to conceal their

countenance: but, alack! they meet with such countenance to uphold their strange doings, that I marvel not at aught that happens. The lord of the mansion is overwhelmed in preparations at Theobalds, and doth marvellously please both kings, with good meat, good drink, and good speeches. I do often say (but not aloud) that the Danes have again conquered the Britons, for I see no man or woman, either, that can command herself. I wish I was at home—*O rus, quando te aspiciam?*—And I will, before the Prince Vaudemont cometh.”*

Exhibitions of the above description, however fantastic and trifling they might be, were, at least, harmless; they involved nothing *cruel* in them; and no part of the pleasure which they afforded to the spectators was derived from the sufferings of the animal creation. But this was not the case with another of the popular amusements of Elizabeth’s reign, *bear-baiting*, patronised by majesty, enjoyed by the court, and affording to the multitude the most intense gratification. The account which

* *Nugæ Antiquæ*, v. i. p. 384.

Robert Laneham has given us of the great *bear-baiting* that made a part of the diversions at Kenilworth, sufficiently proves the barbarity of this sport. We have adopted a modern idiom, in lieu of his barbarous language.

“ Well, sir, the bears were brought forth into the court ; the dogs were set to them, to argue the point, face to face. They had learned counsel, also, on both parts. Very fierce, both one and the other, and eager in argument. If the dog, in pleading, would pluck the bear by the throat, the bear, with traverse, would claw him again by the scalp. *Confess* if he pleased, but *avoid* he could not, that was bound to the bar. Therefore, thus, with defending and proving, with plucking and tugging, scratching and biting, by plain tooth and nail, on the one side and the other, such expense of blood and leather was there between them, as a month’s licking, I think, will not recover.

“ It was a sport very pleasant of these beasts, to see the bear, with his pink eyes, leering after his enemy’s approach ; the nimbleness and waiting, too, of the dog to take

his advantage; and the foresight and experience of the bear, again, to avoid the assault. If he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another, to get free; if he were taken once, then what shift with biting, with clawing, with roaring, tossing, and tumbling; he would work to wind himself from them; and, when he was loose, to shake his ears twice or thrice, with the blood and slaver about his physiognomy, was a matter of goodly relief.”*

It is due, however, to Elizabeth, to remark, that the barbarous pastime of *bear-baiting* did not originate in her reign, though her patronage gave additional popularity to it. She found it on the list of those amusements which had solaced her predecessors on the throne; and, as it suited the fierce and masculine turn of her character, she gave it her marked and constant encouragement.

Richard III., we find, numbered this sport among those with which he amused his few hours of relaxation. On the 6th January, 1484, he issued an order to all mayors and sheriffs in England, commanding them not to

* Kenilworth Illustrated.

vex or molest John Brown, whom he calls "our trusty servant and bear-ward;" and whom, he says, "we have made master-guider and ruler of all our *bears* and *apes* to us appertaining within England and Wales;" speaking, at the same time, of the animals in terms of strong attachment :* and we may infer, from an anecdote mentioned by Burnet, that Elizabeth's father had a taste, also, for the same recreation.

The story is the more remarkable, as we find *bruin* unwittingly connected with an important transaction in the progress of the *Reformation*.

"Cranmer (says Burnet) went about that which the king had commanded, and made a book of the reasons that led him to oppose the Six Articles, in which the places out of the scriptures, the authorities of the ancient doctors, with the arguments drawn from these, were all digested in a good method. This he commanded the secretary to write out in a fair hand, that it might be given to the king. The secretary, returning with it from Croydon,

* Turner's Hist. Eng. v. iii. p. 578.

where the archbishop then was, to Lambeth, found the key of his chamber was carried away by the archbishop's almoner; so that he being obliged to go over to London, and not daring to trust the book to any other's keeping, carried it with himself; where both he and the book met with an unlooked-for encounter. Some others that were with him in the wherry, would needs go to the Southwark side, to look on a *bear-baiting* that was near the river, where the *king was in person*. The bear broke loose into the river, and the dogs after her. They that were in the boat leaped out, and left the poor secretary alone there. But the bear got into the boat, with the dogs about her, and sunk it. The secretary apprehending his life was in danger, did not mind his book, which was lost in the water. But, being quickly rescued and brought to land, he began to look for his book, and saw it floating in the river. So he desired the *bear-ward* to bring it to him; who took it up; but before he would restore it, put it into the hands of a priest who stood there, to see what it might contain. The priest, reading a little in it,

found it a confutation to the Six Articles; and told the *bear-ward*, that whosoever claimed it would be hanged for his pains. But the archbishop's secretary thinking to mend the matter, said it was his Lord's book. This made the bear-ward more intractable; for he was a spiteful papist, and hated the archbishop: so that no offers nor intreaties could prevail with him to give it back. Whereupon Morice (that was the secretary's name) went and opened the matter to Cromwell the next day: Cromwell was then going to court, and he expected to find the *bear-ward* there, looking to deliver the book to some of Cranmer's enemies; he, therefore, ordered Morice to go along with him; where, as they had expected, they found the fellow, with the book about him: upon whom Cromwell called and took the book out of his hands, threatening him severely for his presumption in meddling with a privy-counsellor's book."*

* Hist. Reform. v. i. p. 265. The story is given more in detail by Fox, in Cromwell's life, inserted in his acts, &c. which may be found in the learned and estimable Dr. Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastic Bio-

Other particulars are incidentally mentioned by our historians, from which we may collect how much gratification was derived by our unrefined ancestors from the baiting of poor bruin.

When Queen Mary visited her sister, the Princess Elizabeth, during her confinement at Hatfield House, on the next morning, after mass, a grand exhibition of bear-baiting was made for their amusement; with which, it is said, their Highnesses were right well content.* The same princess, soon after her accession to the throne, gave a splendid dinner to the French ambassadors, who afterwards were entertained with the baiting of bulls and bears; and the queen herself stood with the ambassadors, looking on the pastime till six at

graphy," a work of uncommon interest and utility, v. ii. p. 327. He says, "The secretary sat in the end of the wherry, up to the middle in water; to whom came the bear and all the dogs. The bear seeking, as it were, aid and succour of him, came back with his hinder parts upon him; and so rushing upon him, the book was loosed from his girdle, and fell into the Thames out of his reach."

* Life of Sir Thos. Pope, sect. iii. p. 85.

night. The day following the same ambassadors went by water to Paris Garden,* where they saw another baiting of bulls and of bears; and again, twenty-seven years posterior to this entertainment, Queen Elizabeth received the

* Paul Hentzner, before quoted, gives the following particulars of the sports at Paris Garden, in London. There is a place built in the form of a theatre, which serves for the baiting of bulls and bears. They are fastened behind, and then worried by great English bull-dogs; but not without great risk to the dogs, from the horns of the one, and the teeth of the other; and it sometimes happens that they are killed on the spot: fresh ones are immediately supplied in the place of those that are wounded and tired. To this entertainment, there often follows that of whipping a blinded bear; which is performed by five or six men, standing circularly with whips, which they exercise upon him without any mercy, as he cannot escape from them, because of his chain. At these spectacles, and every where else, the English are constantly smoking tobacco." P. 67. A dreadful accident occurred at Paris Garden, during these exhibitions, in the twenty-fifth year of Elizabeth's reign. A great crowd of people being assembled there, on one *Sunday evening*, (for it was customary to profane the Sabbath in that way,) the whole theatre gave way, and fell to the ground; killing many and wounding more of the spectators.—John Field's *Dec. God's Judgment*, &c. fol. 9.

Danish ambassador at Greenwich, who was treated with the sight of a bear and bull baiting, "tempered," says Holinshed, "with other merry disports;" and, for the diversion of the populace, there was a horse with an ape upon his back; which highly pleased them, so that they expressed their inward conceived joy and delight with shrill shouts and variety of gestures.*

It is probable that bear-baiting claimed no royal patronage after the demise of Elizabeth. James had no propensity to such rough sports; the taste of the higher classes gradually improved; and the beauties of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson triumphed, at length, over the abominations of the bear-garden. We find one allusion, indeed, in the literature of the close of the seventeenth century, to the once important character of *bear-ward*, or keeper royal of the king's bears; in an epilogue of Dryden's, written in 1682, in which, complaining of the noise made by the servants in the play-house, he favours us with

* Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 228.

the name of, possibly, the last of these celebrated public officers :

“ They roar so loud, you’d think behind the stairs
Tom Dove, and all the brotherhood of bears.”

We find, from Stowe, that there were two bear-gardens on the spot called Paris Gardens, in Southwark, the old and the new : “ places,” says he, “ wherein were kept bears, bulls, and other beasts, to be baited ; as, also, mastiffs, in their several kennels, to bait them. These bears and other beasts,” he adds, “ are there baited, in plots of ground scaffolded round, for the beholders to stand safe.

“ For the foulness of these rude sights,” he continues, “ and for that these beastly combats were usually performed on Sundays, and that so much money was idly thrown away, that might have been better given to the poor, a poet, in the latter time of Henry VIII. made and printed these homely verses, more commendable for his zeal than his poetry.

“ What folly is this to keep with danger
A great mastiff dog, and a foul ugly bear?
And for this one end, to see them two fight
With terrible tearings ; a full ugly sight.

And yet methinks those men be most fools of all,
Whose store of money is but very small ;
And yet every *Sunday* they will surely spend.
One penny or two, the bear-ward's living to mend.
At Paris Garden, each Sunday a man shall not fail
To find two or three hundred for the bear-ward's vale.
One halfpenny a piece they use for to give,
When some have not more in their purses, I believe.
Well, at the last day their conscience will declare,
That the poor ought to have all that they may spare.
If you therefore it give to see a bear-fight,
Be sure God his curse upon you will light.”*

An Act of Parliament, passed in the reign of Charles II., converted Paris Garden into the parish of Christchurch.

HOCH-TUESDAY, HOKE-DAY, or HOKE-TIDE.—The origin of this once popular game or play, which the author of Kenilworth describes as being represented to the queen by the men of Coventry, is involved in considerable obscurity. By some writers it is supposed to be commemorative of the massacre of the Danes, in the reign of Ethelred, on the 13th of November, 1002 ; whilst by others, the deliverance of the English from the tyranny of the Danes, by the death of

* Stowe, book iv. p. 6.

Hardicanute, on Tuesday the 8th of June, 1042, is pointed out as its origin. The weight of argument preponderates in favour of the national deliverance by Hardicanute's death; and it must not be forgotten, that the festival was celebrated on a Tuesday, and that Hoke-Tuesday was the Tuesday in the second week after Easter. Spelman derives the term from the German *Hocken*, in reference to the act of *binding*, which was formerly practised by the women upon the men, on *Hoke-Tuesday*; an opinion which Mr. Denne has well supported.—Archæolog. vol. vii. page 244. A payment, called Hock-Tuesday money, was anciently made, by the tenant to the landlord, for the permission given by the latter to the former, to celebrate the festivities of this memorable day.—Jac. Law Dict. in verb.

Whatever the etymology of its name, or the origin of the game itself, might be, its subject was the massacre of the Danes, expressed in actions and rhymes, and acted annually in the town of Coventry, till its suppression, shortly after the Reformation.

It consisted of fierce sham contests between the English and Danish forces ; first, by the “launce knights” on horseback, armed with spears and shields, who being many of them dismounted, then fought with swords and targets. Afterwards succeeded two “hosts of footmen,” one after the other ; first marching in ranks ; then facing about in military array, they changing their form from ranks into squadrons, then into triangles, then into rings, and then “winding out again, they joined in battle. Twice the Danes had the better ; but at the last conflict they were beaten down, overcome, and many of them led captive for triumph by our English women.”*

BRYDEALE.—In Laneham’s account of the festivities of Kenilworth Castle, for the “disport” of her Majesty, is a ludicrous narrative of a rustic marriage or bryde-ale, celebrated before her ; and which makes part of our author’s description. The History of Jack of Newbury affords the following mention of this procession.

* Strutt’s Sports and Pastimes, &c. p. 148.

“The bride being attired in a gown of sheep’s russet, and a kirtle of fine worsted, attired with a ’billement of gold, and her hair as yellow as gold, hanging down behind her, which was curiously combed and plaited ; she was led to church between two sweet boys, with bride laces and rosemary tied about their silken sleeves. There was a fair bride-cup of silver gilt carried before her, wherein was a goodly branch of rosemary, gilded very fair, hung about with silken ribbons of all colours.

“Musicians came next ; then a group of maidens, some bearing great bride-cakes, others garlands of white finely gilded ; and thus they passed on to the church.”

Out of the *bride-cup*, thus described, it was customary for all the persons present, together with the newly-married couple, to drink in the church. There is a ludicrous reference to this in “the mad wedding of Catherine and Petruchio ;” the latter of whom

“ Quaff’d off the muscadel,
And threw the sops all in the sexton’s face.”

The custom, indeed, was universal, from the prince to the peasant ; and at the mar-

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"Musicians came next ; then a group of maidens, some bearing great bride-cakes, others garlands of white finely gilded ; and thus they passed on to the church."

Out of the *bride-cup*, thus described, it was customary for all the persons present, together with the newly-married couple, to drink in the church. There is a ludicrous reference to this in "the mad wedding of Catherine and Petruchio;" the latter of whom

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day, they entered the field, the bastard sitting on a bay courser, being somewhat dim of sight, and the Lord Scales had a grey courser, on whose schaffron was a long and sharp pike of steel. When these two valiant persons coped together at the tourney, the Lord Scales' horse, by chance or custom, thrust his spike into the nostrils of the horse of the bastard, so that, for very pain, he mounted so high, that he fell on one side with his master; and the Lord Scales rode round about him, with his sword shaking in his hand, till the king commanded the marshal to help up the bastard, which openly said, "I cannot hold by the clouds, but though my horse failed me, surely I will not fail my counter-companions:" and, when he was remounted, he made a countenance to assail his adversary. But the king, either favouring his brother's honour then gotten, or mistrusting the shame which might come to the bastard if he were again foiled, caused the heralds to cry a *lostel*, and every one to depart. The morrow after, the two noblemen came into the field a-foot, with two pole-axes, and there fought valiantly, like two courageous

champions; but, at the last, the point of the axe of the Lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the helm of the bastard, and, by pure force, he might have plucked him on his knees; when the king suddenly cast down his warder, and then the marshals them severed. The bastard, not content with this chance, very desirous to be avenged, trusting on his cunning at the pole-axe, (the which feat he had greatly exercised, and therein had a great experiment,) required the king (of justice) that he might perform his enterprise; the Lord Scales not refused it. The king said he would ask counsel, and so called to him the constable and marshal, with the officers of arms. After long consultation had, and laws of arms rehearsed, it was declared to the bastard, for a sentence definitive, by the Duke of Clarence, then constable of England, and the Duke of Norfolk, earl marshal, that if he would prosecute farther this attempted challenge, he must, by the law of arms, be delivered to his adversary in the same case and like condition as he was when he was taken from him; that is to say, the

point of the Lord Scales' axe to be fixed in the sight of his helm, as deep as it was when they were severed. The bastard, hearing this judgment, doubted much the sequel, if he should so proceed again. Wherefore, he was content to relinquish his challenge."—Hall Chron. p. 268.

The death of Queen Elizabeth seems to have wrought a great change in the character of the English court. James had no tincture of the *romantic* in his disposition. He is even said never to have looked at a drawn sword without an emotion of terror; and could not, consequently, have derived any pleasure from shews or amusements which reflected the image of war, or terminated, as the joust sometimes did, in the effusion of blood. The recreations of the royal circle, therefore, changed their aspect; and, in lieu of the dangerous sports of the tilt-yard, the more harmless entertainments of plays, masques, and dances, amused the vacant hours of the timid king and his obsequious courtiers.* A

* We must observe, however, that, in the earlier.

very interesting document is still extant, which may be regarded as a register of the English popular amusements, for more than

part of his life, James regarded the dangerous sports of the tilt-yard with less dismay than in his later days, and recommended them to his son Henry, as amusements befitting those of high birth. In his *Basilikon Doron*, he speaks thus to the prince: "From this court I debar all rough and violent exercise, as the foot-ball, meeter for laming than making able the users thereof; as, likewise, such tumbling tricks as only serve for comedians and balladines to win their bread with. But the exercises that I would have you to use, (although but moderately, not making a craft of them,) are running, leaping, wrestling, fencing, dancing, and playing at the caitche, or tennise, archery, pallé maille; and, specially use such games on horseback, as may teach you to handle your arms thereon; such as the tilt, the ring, and lowe-riding for handling of your sword." —P. 121. The young prince was "nothing loth" to follow his father's directions, with respect to the tilt-yard, and became enthusiastically fond of its amusements. The same taste was indulged, also, by many individuals of the court, though not sanctioned by the royal example: and, from Peacham's "Complete Gentleman," we find that, for some time afterwards, "ranning at the tilt" was considered "as a generous and martial exercise;" and, therefore, fitting to make part of a gentleman's education, "though," says the

half a century, ‘The Account Book of Sir Henry Herbert, knight, master of the revels,’* an office which had existed ever since the reign of Henry VIII. No public sport could be legally performed unless sanctioned by a license from this officer, who received a regular fee for every such permission. A tolerably correct view, therefore, may be obtained, from the document, of the nature of those amusements which best suited the taste of our ancestors, after the splendid and martial shews of Elizabeth’s time had passed away, with their “lion-hearted” patroness. The larger proportion of these licenses has a reference to *dramatic entertainments*; which, from the commencement of the seventeenth century, had vindicated that claim to public attention, which, in the scale of popular

author, “it be but hazardous and full of danger; for many hereby (even in sport) have lost their lives; that I may omit Henry the French King, with many other princes and noble personages, of whom history is full.”—P. 256, edit. 1661.

* It is in possession of Rev. — Ingram, Shropshire, who obligingly indulged us with a loan of it, a few years since.

nusements, is, unquestionably, their due. great number of them, however, are of a different description ; and, while they point at the manifold rights exercised by the Master of the Revels, and the variety of objects to which his official rule extended, afford us, also, a standard by which we may measure and compare the diversions of our forefathers with those of ourselves.

Sir Henry Herbert granted, on the 20th August, 1623, a license, *gratis*, to John Williams, and four others, to make a *shew of an elephant*, for a year ; on the 5th of September, to make shew of a *live beaver* ; on the 14th June 1638, to make shew of an outlandish creature, called a *possum* (an opossum) ; a license for a Dutchman to shew two *dromedaries*, for a year, for which the licenser received one pound ; a warrant to Grimes, for shewing the *camel*. On the 14th August 1624, a license was granted to Edward James to set forth a *shewing glass* called the *world's wonder*. On the 27th of August 1623, a license was granted to Barth. Cloys, with three assistants, to make shew of a *musical organ* with divers

motions in it; to make shew of an *Italian motion*; to shew a looking-glass; to shew the *philosopher's lanthorn*; to shew a *virginal*. A license was granted to Henry Monford and others, for *tumbling and vaulting*, with *other tricks of sleight of hand*, for a *prize at the bull*, (play-house,) by Mr Allen and Mr. Lewkner;—to William Sands, and others, to “*shew the chaos of the world*;” to shew a motion called *the creation of the world*; to shew certain *freaks of charging and discharging of a gun*. A license to Mr. Lowings, on the 18th of February 1630, for allowing of a *Dutch vaulter* at their houses (the Globe and Blackfriars theatres). A warrant to Francis Nicolini, an Italian, and his company, to *dance on the ropes*; to use *interludes and masques*; and to sell his *powders and balsam*:—to John Puncteus, a Frenchman, professing *physic*, with ten in his company, to *exercise the quality of playing* for a year, and to *sell his drugs*. On the 6th of March, a license was given, *gratis*, to Alexander Kukelson, to teach the art of *music and dancing* for one year;

a license to Thomas Gibson to make shew of *pictures in war*.

With the other privileges of the office of master of the revels appears to have been connected that of *licensing books*, during the reigns of James the First and Charles the First, as we may collect from his receiving a fee for allowing a translation of Ovid's *Epistles* to be published ; another, for the same permission conceded to *Cælia*, a poem, by Lord Brook ; another, for the publication of *some verses, done by a boy of thirteen, one Cowley*.*

PERSONAL COSTUME.

The writers of fiction, in general, like the managers of our dramatic entertainments in former days, are ludicrously inattentive to the appropriate habiliments of the characters whom they bring most prominently forwards to the reader's notice, as the heroes and heroines of their stories. It seems to be their

* Chalmer's Supple. Apolog. for Believers, &c. p. 208.

main object to make them either elegant or bewitching; and when they do *dress* them, instead of preserving the proper keeping of time and place, by an attention to the characteristical clothing of the day, these exquisites are habited from a certain *beau ideal* wardrobe of the author's, with an attire that bears no resemblance to mortal fashions; nor squares with any modification of *dandyism* which has ever existed since the first establishment of the tailor's vocation. Not so the Author of *Waverley*. Correct in this, as in all other imitations of existing circumstances, he has paid particular attention to the *personal costume* of his characters. Whatever his epoch may be, we find these personages in the proper dress of their day and country; and from the time of King John to the reign of George the Second, there is no discrepancy between the garb he allots to them, and the actual productions of the toilettes and wardrobes of their respective æras. It is true that this rigid observance of costume places a writer in a situation of some difficulty; for so closely is the idea of beauty or dignity associated in

our minds with certain pleasing arrangements of dress, and so apt are we to consider those arrangements as exclusively pleasing, to which we have been accustomed ; that any considerable departure from them, in an object proposed to our esteem or regard, has an unquestionable tendency to lessen one or the other of these feelings with respect to that object. No stronger proof of this can be mentioned, than the general effect produced upon light minds (and how many minds are of this description) by the *garb* of the *Quaker*. Who will deny, that, notwithstanding its good sense, peculiar neatness, and obvious adaptation to useful purposes, when the eye first rests upon it, a feeling of the *ridiculous* is excited in many a common observer ; and that it requires a recollection of the solid worth and high integrity which is almost universally concealed beneath the broad beaver, the square-cut coat, and the entire suit of plain drab, to compose the tickled fancy of such an observer into any thing like soberness and respect. Hence, to array those creations of the brain, which are intended to interest the passions, or

awe the imagination, in a fashion of dress, which from dissuetude or quaintness, has become connected with ludicrous associations, and, at the same time, to make the reader acknowledge, in despite of these, their beauty or dignity, evinces no common talent in a novelist ; nor do we recollect one among the whole host of writers of this class, with the exception of our author, who has contrived to render his heroes or heroines lovely or respectable, in the antiquated fashions of trunk hose, slouched hats, and green josephs ; or combined an air of grace and taste, with the queer personal *materiel* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Independently of this skill, with which he has managed the article of *dress* in his different novels, he may claim some merit, also, in having traced its various aspects through the multiform changes it underwent during the long period which his works embrace. The proverbial variableness of fashion is more strictly applicable to the English costume than to any other subject in the universe. No nation of the globe has so frequently changed

the fashion of its garments as ourselves ; nor have any people gained less in elegance and taste by their inconstancy in this respect.

With more sound sense than half the world besides, and with better notions of the “fitness of things,” (if the pun may be allowed,) than all our neighbours, we have, in all ages, gone to foreign quarters for that which ought to have been invented at home, and adapted to our own peculiar climate and character ; and, hence, instead of being clothed like gentlemen, with the taste which nature and circumstances would have suggested, the English, though first in expensive, have ever been last in graceful, appearance, among all the nations of Europe.

This unpatriotic practice of borrowing from foreigners the forms and materials of our clothing was reprobated, with some humour, by Lily, in Queen Elizabeth’s time. “The attire they use,” says he, “is rather led by the imitation of others, than their own invention ; so that there is nothing in England more constant than the inconstancy of attire—now the Spanish, then the Morisco, gowns ; then one thing, then another ; insomuch, that in draw-

ing of an Englishman, the painter setteth him down naked, having in one hand a pair of shears, in the other a piece of cloth, who having cut his collar after the French guise, is ready to make his sleeve after the barbarian manner.”* It is to our Gallican neighbours, however, that we have been the most indebted for models of fashions in dress ; an obligation which they conferred on us very early in our history, and which we have continued to acknowledge, and to avail ourselves of, to the present day.

Edward the Confessor, who received his education in France, imported with him into England the mode of dress which he had there adopted ; and the Norman monarchs, who shortly afterwards occupied the English throne, confirmed, of course, this taste for foreign attire. The male habiliments of this period, however, (for *female* attire is too important a subject for light discussion,) seem to have been neither ungraceful nor inconvenient. The head was covered with a *cap* of cloth, ornamented with fur and jewels, (our observa-

* Euphues, and his England.

ns are, of course, confined to the stars of
 shion;) the *shirt*, a foreign luxury, involved
 e body; a *doublet*, fitting the limbs, reach-
 g to the wrists, and girded by an embroi-
 red belt, concealed the shirt; and a wide
antle (originally without sleeves, but after
 ards with these appendages) hung elegantly
 om the shoulder, and was wrapped round
 e person, or flowed majestically behind it,
 utility might demand, or caprice suggest.
 was upon this external garment that the
 nglo-Norman dandies bestowed the most
 ought and expense. To Henry I. was pre-
 ented, by Robert Bloet bishop of Lincoln, a
 antle of this description, made of the finest
 oth, lined with black sables, and adorned
 ith white tufts, at an expense of an hundred
 ounds; a sum which, considering the relative
 alue of money, would probably approach to
 ar two thousand pounds. Nor could Richard
 e First's gala robe be of inferior value;
 for," says the historian, "it was striped in
 trait lines, adorned with half-moons of solid
 ilver, and almost covered with shining orbs
 n imitation of the system of the heavenly

bodies.”* The *inexpressibles*, also, in lieu of the Saxon short petticoat were introduced; and stockings and shoes, in the room of naked legs and sandals, became parts of the English gentleman’s personal costume. It must be acknowledged, however, that our ancestors did not manifest a greater degree of constancy to these becoming and useful forms of clothing than their descendants have observed. Innovations were gradually made in every department of dress, but in none more strikingly, or unwisely, than in the article of *shoes*. In the court of William Rufus appeared a meteor in the hemisphere of fashion, of great celebrity. He was surnamed Robert the *Horned*, from the pattern of his shoes, which were so elongated at the points, stiffened with wool, and curled towards their extremity, as to resemble the frontal ornaments of a full-grown ram. The clergy, horrified at such a monstrosity, declaimed against it with the most earnest vehemence; but all in vain; fashion triumphed over eloquence; all the courtiers applauded the happy invention, adopted the

* Henry’s Hist. of England, vol. vi. p. 357.

lorned shoes, and gradually rivalled each other in the length of these projections, till it became necessary to preserve them in a perpendicular direction, by chaining their tops to the knee."*

The extravagance of Richard the Second, who, by the by, mixed up some taste with his profusion, gave the signal to his subjects to indulge in every species of expense. That connected with the wardrobe was not neglected. It is the remark of a writer nearly contemporary, that the vanity of the common people in their dress was so great, that it was impossible to distinguish the rich from the poor, the high from the low, the clergy from the laity, by their appearance. Fashions were continually changing; and every one endeavoured to outshine his neighbour by the richness of his dress, or the novelty of its form;† and another author (in English which would be unintelligible, if not modernized) tells us, that the English hunted

* Camden's Remains, p. 195.

† Knyghton Col. 2729, quoted by Henry Hist. viii. 397.

so much into the folly of strangers, that every year they changed themselves in divers shapes and disguisings of clothing; now long, now large, now wide, now strait; and every day clothing new, and destitute and different from all honest old array, and good usage; and another time to short clothes, and strait waisted, with full sleeves,† and hoods over long and large, very *nagged*, and *knet* on every side, and slatternly; and so *buttoned*, that, if I may say it, they were more like tormen-

† The wide and long pocketed sleeve, called by heralds the *manche*, was much in fashion in the reign of Henry the Fourth. Stowe, in his Chron. p. 327. temp. Hen. IV. says, "This time was used exceeding pride in garments; gownes with deep and broad sleeves, commonly called *poke* sleeves," (because they served the purpose of the *poke* or pocket) "the servants wear them as well as their masters, which might well have been called receptacles of the devil; for what they stole they hid in their sleeves, whereof some hung down to the foot, and at least to the knees, full of cuts and jaggies, whereupon were made these verses;" (by Occleve)

"Now hath this land but little nede of broomes,
To sweepe away the filth out of the strete,
Sithyn (since) *side slevis* of penyless groomes
Will it up lik (lick it up) be it dry or wete."

tors and devils in their clothing, and also in their shoes, and other array, than they seemed to be like men.*

If the following picture of a *dandy* of this period be a correct portrait, we cannot wonder at the vehemence with which the honest Monk of Glastonbury, just quoted, rails at these English coxcombs. "He wore long-pointed shoes, fastened to his knees by gold or silver chains: hose of one colour on one leg, and of a different hue on the other: short breeches, made to fit with an indecent tightness: a party-coloured coat, one half black, the other of an opposite colour; a long beard, and a silk hood buttoned under his chin, either embroidered with the most grotesque figures,

They who are acquainted with the form of the *gown sleeves* of the Winchester College boys, and the purposes to which these ample receptacles are often applied, will see the *fashion* of the garment alluded to by Stowe, and understand how convenient it is for the *use* which he mentions to have been made of it. We remember a clever, but singular, Winchester boy, who kept a *huge toad* in one of the sleeves of his gown."

† Strutt's *Horda Angel. Cynnan.* vol. ii. p. 83.

or emblazoned with gold, silver, and precious stones.* It was not to be expected, indeed, that the middle orders would be examples of simplicity or economy in dress, when the thoughtless monarch could expend thirty thousand marks upon a coat, and a knight (Sir John Arundel) accumulate in his wardrobe *fifty-two* complete suits of *cloth of gold*.†

* Camden's Remains, p. 194. Strutt ut supra, vol. ii. page 83, et infra.

† Holingshed's Chron. 1110, 1215. We must for once trespass on forbidden ground, and bring forwards the dashing belles of the fourteenth century as the associate of our English fops. "These tournaments, in 1348," (they are Knyghton's words,) "are attended by many ladies of the first rank and greatest beauty, but not always of the most untainted reputation. They are dressed in party-coloured tunics, (or tight waistcoats,) one half of one colour, and another half of another; their lirrripes, or tippets, are very short; their caps remarkably little, and wrapped about their heads with cords (of silver or gold). Their girdles and pouches are ornamented with gold and silver; and they wear short swords, called *daggers*, in front, considerably below the chest. They are mounted on the finest horses, with the richest furniture." It seems, however, that this *snug cap* was a part of *equestrian* dress merely. When *not* on horse-

The next epoch of gaudy dress in England was the reign of Edward the Fourth, one of the most active, chivalrous, and heroical of our monarchs in war and conflict, and dis-

back, the ladies amplified their head attire to a greater extent and elevation; some of them building up the head-dress to the height of three feet from the skull, in the shape of a sugar-loaf, and wearing on its summit streamers of silk, that hung to the ground.—Henry's Hist. vol. viii. page 402. These enormous female head-dresses continued to be fashionable for half a century. They had been imported, as usual, from France, where the fashion reached its climax. When Isabel of Bavaria, consort of Charles the Sixth, kept her court at Vincennes in 1416, it was found necessary to make all the doors of the palace both higher and wider, to admit the head-dresses of the queen and her ladies. Mr. Strutt has favoured us with some representations of these stupendous *capitals*, and explained how they were supported by the slender shaft. An artificial horn, it seems, issued from each side of the head, bending upwards, on which many folds of ribbons and other ornaments were suspended; and this gave a *bearing* for the superstructure. From the top of the horn, on the right side, a streamer of silk, or other light stuff, was loosely suspended, which might be spread over the bosom, wound round the arm, or suffered to float on the wind.—Hord. Ang. Cyn. vol. p. 9, plate 6.

sipated and luxurious during his short breathing times of peace. *Then* was the time

“ Of joy and feast,
Midnight shout and revelry,
Tipsy dance, and jollity ;”

and Edward, like another Comus, led his dissipated barons, knights, and courtiers into every species of debauchery and extravagance. Endowed by nature with a perfect form, uncommon beauty of countenance, and transcendent grace of manner,* and fully conscious of his personal attractions, he paid peculiar attention to the *cut* of his tunic, the *foldings* of his mantle, and the *close fitting* of the the lower part of his dress. The fashion of

* An incident is mentioned by Holingshed, which evinces the attractions of his person in the eyes of the fair sex. He applied to a rich old lady for a voluntary contribution towards the war in which he was engaged : she looked at him with attention, and exclaimed, “ for thy *lovely face* thou shalt have twenty pounds ;” a present double the value of what the king had reckoned on. Sir Thomas More tells us, that he was of “ a goodly personage, and very princely to behold ; of visage lovely ; of body mighty ; strong, and well made.”—Page 150, 1. See, also, Philip de Comines, 246—252.

his costume (which was universal among his subjects also) displayed to the best effect his manly and symmetrical figure.† His stockings and breeches were of one piece, ascending high upon the waist, and closely embracing the limbs; these were met by a tight jacket or waistcoat; over this was thrown a robe or gown; and a silk or velvet bonnet, preciouslly gemmed or richly embroidered, covered the head; while the hair, carefully cultivated into

† This fashion was carried to such an extreme, that it had been reprobated by the clergy as contrary to delicacy, (Ross of Warwick, page 131,) and was attempted to be checked by Act of Parliament, 3 Edward IVth; but *vanity* despised the one, and evaded the other; and, while she had the sanction of the royal example, continued the long and tight breeches, as long as *fashion* told her that they were *becoming*. Harrison, in a subsequent age, is somewhat severe upon this tightness of apparel. "Then," says he, "must the long seams of our hose be set by a plumb-line; then we puff, then we blow; finally, we sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well upon us."—Description of Britain, p. 151. The fashion has been imitated in the costume of some of our horse regiments. A friend of ours in the Hussars used to complain, that, when trussed up for parade, he was utterly unable to *stoop to the ground*.

rich luxuriance, wantoned on the forehead, and hung in ringlets over the shoulders.

It is mortifying to those of high birth or exalted station, that, in a rich and free country, they cannot distinguish themselves from the common herd by any mode of personal attire, which shall bespeak their dignity to the eye, and tell the beholder, on the instant, how great they are. It matters not how costly their garb may be; vulgar wealth will soon imitate and exceed them in expense; nor can the extreme of inconvenience or absurdity secure any fashion exclusively to themselves; for so determined are the *canaille* to be *as like them as possible*, that they will copy even deformity to preserve the resemblance. If the privileged orders resort to rapid changes in articles or patterns, for the purpose of exhausting the patience or the purses of their pursuers, the expedient is of no avail; the persevering mob is still at their heels, and all that their ingenuity and trouble can effect, is to obtain the priority of the vogue for about *half a season*; and having had this short exclusive enjoyment of the

blessing, to discard it altogether, and laugh at those who catch at their leavings. Edward the Fourth and his courtiers, however, did not endure so good-humouredly this apeing of their fashions by the commonalty of the country. The king had recourse to a measure, which, in the then imperfect state of the constitution, was sometimes resorted to, a *sumptuary law*, to confine the use of the rich and expensive manufactures for clothing entirely to the higher classes of society; and to mark the distinctions of rank by the comparative costliness of the personal costume. Towards the close of his reign it was enacted, that none but the royal family should wear any cloth of gold, or silk, of a purple colour; none under a duke any cloth of gold, or tissue; none under a lord, any plain cloth of gold; none under a knight, any velvet, nor damask, nor satin, in their gowns; none under an esquire or a gentleman, any damask or satin in their doublets, nor gowns of camlet; none under a lord, any woollen cloths made out of England, nor furs of sables.*

It is whimsical that Richard the Third, though so opposite to Edward in personal appearance, should have evinced the same taste with him for personal decoration. Later historians, indeed, have satisfactorily proved that he was far from being the monster, either in mind or body, which some of his cotemporaries and their followers have described him to be; that he was not "an indigested lump,

"Curtail'd of fair proportion;
Cheated of feature by dissembling nature;
Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before his time
Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
And that so lamely and unfashionably,
That dogs bark'd at him as he halted by them."

But the most unprejudiced accounts represent him as low in stature, delicate in figure, and incomplete in person.* Vanity, however, equally inspired both with this love of dress. Both wished to be admired. The former conceived that splendid apparel would throw

* See Mr. Turner's able character of him in the third volume of his *History of England*. Horace Walpole would prove too much in his "*Historic Doubts*," and is therefore thought to prove nothing.

an additional charm over his fine person. The latter, that it would counteract the effect of natural deficiencies ; and that he should dazzle, though he could not allure. ‘Dickon’ was always studious, therefore, of appearing richly clothed in public. He paid particular attention to the form, fashion, and colour of his garb ; and wheresoever he went for gala purposes, carried with him a large assortment of fine clothes. On his journey to York, (which he visited in 1483, to repeat his coronation,) he discovered that these necessary articles for his projected personal display had been left in London. He dispatched, instantly, a written mandate to the keeper of his wardrobe, to deliver to the bearers a whole heap of such rich dresses for the grand occasion as the following : “ a doublet of purple satin, lined with *galand* cloth, and outlined with *busk* ; one ditto of tawny satin, lined in likewise ; two short gowns of crimson cloth of gold, lined with green velvet ; three coats of arms, beaten with fine gold, for his own person,” &c. &c. But his vanity was gratified at a dear rate ; for it cost him the friendship of

Buckingham, whose regard seems to have been alienated from the monarch, by his rivalling the favourite in the sumptuousness of his apparel.*

In the illustrations of missals and manuscripts of this age, we find the beaux in a costume, which would render their sex a questionable point, had it not been determined by one well-known ornamental part of the dress. A doublet, puckered, and stuffed to a considerable size, involved the body; the sleeves were equally distended towards the upper part of the arm; and the breechest

* Turner's Hist. Eng. vol. iii. page 481. In the reign of Henry VIIIth, we have this picture of a gay courtier. "At the marriage of Prince Arthur, the brave young Vaux appeared in a gown of purple velvet, adorned with pieces of gold so thick and massive, that, exclusive of the silk and furs, it was valued at a thousand pounds. About his neck he wore a collar of S. S. weighing eight hundred pounds in nobles, (*i. e.* of that value.) In those days it not only required great bodily strength to support the weight of their cumbersome armour; their very luxury of apparel for a drawing-room would oppress a system of modern muscles."—Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. i. page 81.

† The enormous magnitude of the breeches, swollen

swelled to the size of a small feather-bed about the hips ; add to this a short petticoat over the breeches, a laced stomacher, and a gown or mantle, with wide sleeves, descending over the doublet and petticoat to the ankles ; and we have an accurate portrait of the equivocal dandy of the latter end of the fifteenth century.*

The masculine taste of Henry VIIIth scorned such an apparent approach to "the doubtful gender" in the male dress. The puffings and slashes of the arm-pieces, doublet, and breeches, were retained ; but the trailing gown disappeared, and a smart cloak, and *knowing* bonnet or cap, which gradually elon-

with wool and horse-hair, may be estimated from a fact adduced by Mr. Strutt, in his *Horda Angel. Cynan* ; that there was a scaffold erected round the inside of the parliament-house, of a peculiar construction, (*i. e.* broader than a bench,) for the exclusive accommodation of these great-bottomed senators ; which remained till the eighth year of Queen Elizabeth, when the fashion declined, and the bench was removed.—Vol. iii. page 85. We may fairly consider this as the first *rump* Parliament in England.

* Strutt, *ut supra*.

gated itself into a stiff conical hat and feather; gave a certain Spanish air to the courtiers of the Tudor kings. Henry VIII. was himself a great admirer of gorgeous apparel; and his ample form set it off to the best advantage. On his coronation procession he glittered with peculiar splendour. "His grace wared," says the Chronicler Hall, "in his upperst apparel a robe of crimsyn velvet, furred with armyns," (ermine;) "his jacket, or coat, of raised gold; the placard" (the breast of it) "embroidered with diamonds, rubies, emeraudes," (emeralds,) "great pearls, and other rich stones; a great bauderike" (belt) "about his neck, of large balasses," (a species of ruby.) But Henry was a tyrant even in dress; and would allow no approach in the inferior ranks to the costume of the great. He tried, therefore, the effect of another sumptuary law to this end; and in the sixth year of his reign, passed an Act, directing "what apparel temporal men of every degree and estate may wear, and what not;" by which ordinance, purple was restricted to the royal family; cloth of gold, or tissue, to dukes and mar-

quisses ; and silks and velvets, to commoners of wealth and distinction. But the times were past, when such legislative enactments could be either useful or efficient ; the people were now growing rich, and would wanton in all the indulgencies which money enabled them to command ; and, independently of this obstacle to the regular operation of the Act, the king or his advisers would soon perceive, that, if it did avail, it would be politically injurious, as affecting that foreign commerce and home trade, which statesmen began to perceive formed the foundation of true national greatness. The Act was accordingly repealed in the year ensuing its promulgation.*

The causes which rendered the personal costume of Elizabeth's reign more splendid than the dress of either prior or subsequent times are obvious—the queen's own childish love of ornament, and the desire, on the part of the courtiers, to conciliate her esteem by gratifying her taste. If we analyze a beau

* Stat. at large, v. ii. p. 111-- 117. The *buffetier* (or beef-eater) of Carlton Palace is a good specimen of the costume of Henry VIIIth's reign.

after her Majesty's heart, we shall find his garb to consist of the following constituent parts:—Corked shoes; pantofles, or pinsnets, of velvet embroidered with gold, with a projecting heel, and crowned with an embroidered or jewelled rose of great cost; the stocking, formed of "silk, velvet, damask, or other precious stuff," (and cut so nicely, by the tailor, as to fit like a second skin,) ascended half-way up the thigh, where it was met by the slashed and puffed breeches; a close jacket, like a waistcoat, embraced the body, of silk, satin, tissue, &c. with a large cape and long close sleeve; a cloak of rich stuff was thrown over the doublet; a beautiful dagger glittered in the belt; and the head was covered with a beaver hat, (of from thirty to forty shillings,) which gradually became high and narrow, adorned with bands of silver, gold, or precious stones. Another important article, however, is necessary to make up one of Elizabeth's dandies—the *ruff*, to which so much care and thought were devoted, as to demand from us an especial attention to this *sine quâ non* of fashion, in the sixteenth century.

Robert Laneham, in his curious letter which details the entertainments at Kenilworth Castle, describes the costume of an "auncient minstryl," who made one of the pantomimic group on the occasion. He tells us, that he had "his shirt after the new trink, with *ruffs* fair starched, sleeked, and glistening like a pair of new shoes; *marshalled in good order, with a setting stick; and stout, that every ruff stood up like a wafer.*" It is evident, from this account, that great pains had been bestowed upon the minstrel's ruff; but, we apprehend, our readers would not be aware of the extent or nicety of these pains, without such illustrations as the following. In the second part of the "Anatomy of Abuses," by P. Stubbes, 1583, is this dialogue:

"*Theod.* I have heard it said, that they use great *ruffs* in Dnalgne (England): do they continue them still, as they were wont to do, or not?

"*Amphil.* There is no amendment in any thing, that I can see; for they not only continue their great *ruffs* still, but also use them bigger than ever they did; and, as I

hear say, they have their *starching houses* made of purpose to that use and end only, the better to trim and dress their *ruffs*, to please the devil's eyes withal.

“*Theod.* Have they not, also, houses to set their *ruffs* in, to trim them, and to trick them, as well as to starch them in ?

“*Amphil.* Yea, marry, have they; for either the same starching-houses do serve the turn, or else they have their other chambers or secret closets to the same use; wherein they trick up these *cart wheels* of the devil's chariot of pride, leading the direct way to the dungeon of hell.

“*Theod.* What tools and instruments have they to set their *ruffs* withal ? for, I am persuaded, they cannot set them artificially enough, without some kind of tools.

“*Amphil.* Very true : and do you think that they want any thing that might set forth their devilry to the world ? I would you wist it, they have their tools and instruments for the purpose.

“*Theod.* Whereof be they made, I pray you, or how ?

“ *Amph.* They be made of *iron* and *steel*, and some of *brass*, kept as bright as silver ; yea, and some of silver itself ; and it is well known, in process of time, they grow not to be gold. The fashion whereafter they be made I cannot resemble to any thing so well as a squirt or a squib which little children use to squirt out water withal ; and when they come to starching and setting of their ruffs, then must this instrument be heated in the fire, the better to stiffen the ruff ; for the heat will dry and stiffen any thing. And, if you would know the name of this goodly tool, forsooth, the devil hath given it to name a *putter*, or else a *putting stick*, as I hear say. They have, also, another instrument, called a *setting stick*, either of wood or bone, and sometimes of gold and silver, made forked-wise at both ends, and with this (*si diis placet*) they set their ruffs.”

The same caustic writer, also, mentions that the ruffs have “ a support, or underproper, called a *supper-tass*.” Stowe informs us, that “ about the sixteenth year of the queen” (Elizabeth) began the use of steel

poking-sticks; and, until that time, all laundresses used *setting-sticks* made of wood or bone. Autolychus, in the *Winter's Tale*, has *poking-sticks* of steel, among his other wares.

To all this we may add, that in Marston's *Malcontent*, 1604, is the following observation: "There is such a deal of pinning these *ruffs*, when the fine clean fall" (or *band*) is worth them all." And again, "if you should chance to take a nap in an afternoon, your *falling band* requires no *poking-stick* to recover his form." And, in Middleton's comedy of "*Blount Master Constable*," 1602, the author remarks, "Your *ruffs* must stand in print, and, for that purpose, get *poking-sticks* with fair long handles, lest they scorch your hands."*

* It is to be recorded, to the credit of Elizabeth, that this absurd extension of the ruff was prohibited by an order of her council-board, which gave authority to certain officers to clip exuberant ruffs, and to shorten extravagant rapiers.—Townshend's *Journal*, p. 250, quoted by M. P. Andrews. She, also, attempted to restrain enormous expense in dress, in the young, and in the unprivileged orders, by proclamation.

But every thing must have an end, and the ~~aff~~ experienced, at length, the general doom. In the succeeding century, the *falling band* triumphed over it, and continued fashionable till it became a marked part of the puritanic costume; when the loose and embroidered neckcloth was assumed by the cavaliers, to distinguish them, as far as such a trifle could, from their detested adversaries, who universally affected the band.

Were we called upon to determine the period when gorgeous clothing was at its greatest height in England, we should, without hesitation, name Elizabeth's reign as the enviable epoch.

Sir Walter Raleigh, as we have seen, made his fortune by a sacrifice of his *fine cloak* in a gallant attention to the convenience of this queen: nor did he fail to continue to captivate her eye by the splendour of his costume. Oldys had seen a picture of this hero, which represented him in a white satin pinked vest, close sleeved to the wrist; over the body a brown doublet, finely powdered and embroidered with pearls: in the feather of his hat

was a large ruby, and a pearl drop at the bottom of the sprig, in place of a button; his trunk, or breeches, with his stockings and ribbon garters, were fringed at the end all white; and buff shoes with white ribbon. The last articles were so gorgeously covered with gems, as to exceed in cost six thousand six hundred pounds.*

It is true, that Raleigh carried the wealth of a Spanish galleon on his back, and had brought from the New World a very well-furnished *jewel-box*, which enabled him to out-blazon most of his fellow-courtiers, in the train of the maiden queen. But of so much importance was this personal decoration in the acquirement or maintenance of her favour, that they all strove hard to equal, if they could not eclipse, the blaze of this popular hero. It was Leicester alone, however, rich in the spoil of a kingdom, who succeeded in the ruinous rivalry; and, if the author of Kenilworth drew his portrait of him, in his gala dress at Kenilworth, from any remaining picture of the earl, it must be acknowledged,

* D'Israeli, *Cur. Lit.* new series, v. iii. p. 268.

that even Raleigh himself could not exceed him in the elegance of his appearance.

“ He was now apparelled all in white : his shoes being of white velvet; his under-stocks (or stockings) of knit silk; his upper-stocks (or breeches) of white velvet, lined with cloth of silver, which was shewn at the slashed part of the middle thigh; his doublet of cloth of silver; the close jerkin of white velvet, embroidered with silver and seed pearl; his girdle and the scabbard of his sword of white velvet, with golden buckles, his poignard and sword hilted and mounted with gold; and, over all, a rich loose robe of white satin, with a border of golden embroidery, a foot in breadth. The collar of the garter, and the azure garter itself around his knee, completed the appointments of the Earl of Leicester.”*

It would be difficult to imagine a costume more brilliant or expensive than such as we have described; but even these were exceeded by the attire of a court fop in the reign succeeding Elizabeth's time. As his ward-robe, however, like Leicester's, was supplied

* Vol. iii. page 93.

by all the offices and honours which a doating king could heap upon a worthless favourite; so the Duke of Buckingham's appearance must not be considered as the general model of a great man's dress in the court of James I.

"It was common with him," (says the writer who affords us the account,) "at an ordinary dancing, to have his clothes trimmed with great diamond buttons, and to have diamond hatbands, cockades, and ear-rings; to be yoked with manifold ropes and knots of pearls; in short, to be manacled, fettered, and imprisoned in jewels; insomuch, that at his going over to Paris, in 1625, he had twenty-seven new suits of clothes made, the richest that embroidery, lace, silk, velvet, gold, and gems, could contribute; one of which was a white uncut velvet, set all over, both suit and cloak, with diamonds, valued at fourscore thousand pounds; besides a great feather set all over with diamonds, as were, also, his sword, girdle, hat-band, and spurs.* His jewels, it appears, were tacked, purposely, very

* Harl. MS. quoted by Oldys, in his *Life of Raleigh*, p. 145. note (c).

osely upon his garments, so that they might be shaken off upon the ground, whenever he chose to be gallant to *les dames de la cœur*, he picked them up and kept them for their heirs, as the Duke never condescended to accept again what he had once let fall.”*

The troubles, distractions, and warfare of the reign succeeding that of James I., afforded no leisure for the study of dress, or the invention of fashions. Every thing was absorbed in politics; and personal attire became a signal of party adherence. The royalists affected the gay and dashing costume: they were all rattle and flutter, ribbons, knots, and points; and when their coffers were low, and their appearance tinsel; while the opponents of government, despising the vanities of the court, and willing to be as unlike the royalists in exterior, as they were in sentiment, oscillated into the contrary extreme, and clad themselves in that sober garb, which remains to the present day the habit of the most rigid of our Quakers.

The Restoration brought with it a general taste for dress, but it was of an ungraceful

* D'Israeli's *Cur. Lit.* new series, v. iii. p. 269.

and effeminate description; and, perhaps, nothing could be more ludicrous, in the eye of a modern fashionable, than the queer figure of an English *exquisite* at the close of the seventeenth century; with square-topped shoes, stockings rolled over the knees, a waistcoat descending down the thigh, a coat as loose as a carter's frock, a long dangling laced neckcloth, a voluminous wig (where ringlets were wanting) covering the shoulders behind and before, surmounted with a little triangular cocked hat: yet such were the gay and gallant youths who formed the *great go* in the London fashionable world, in the time of our great grandfathers!*

* Charles the First's costume, as it appears in a picture described by Mr. Peck, was as follows: "He wore a *falling band* (a sort of very broad collar to the shirt); a short green doublet, the arm-parts towards the shoulder wide and slashed; ziz-zag turned-up ruffles (commonly called vandyked); very long green breeches, like a Dutchman, tied far below the knee with long yellow ribands; red stockings; great shoe roses; and a short red cloak, lined with blue, with a star on the shoulder."—Desid. Curios. v. ii. lib. xv. p. 21. Charles the Second's attire differed materially from his father's. To discourage the extravagance in

Intimately connected with this outline of the history of English dress, from the Conquest to the eighteenth century, are the changes which those natural appendages of the person—the *hair* and the *beard*, have experienced during the same interval, at the capricious, but despotic, commands of fashion.

Among the few unwise measures adopted by William the Conqueror, when he seized the English sceptre, was his interference with the *beards* and *hair* of the vanquished people. Nothing excites greater disgust in the common mind, than a declaration of war against its deeply-rooted prejudices, and long-cherished customs; and when they are connected either with religious impressions, or personal vanity, the attachment to them becomes an enthusiastic

French fashions, he made a solemn and peremptory declaration of the fashion of his apparel, which he resolved to wear for the future. It was strait Spanish breeches; instead of a doublet, a long vest down to the mid-leg; and, above that, a loose coat, after the Muscovite or Polish way; the sword girt over the vest; and, instead of shoes or stockings, a pair of buskins or bodikins."—Echard's Hist. Eng. v. ii. p. 838 (note p. 23).

feeling, which rouses all the fiercer passions of the soul to their defence.

A certain commander-in-chief in India, some twenty years ago, felt his taste disgusted by the mustachio, turban, and its ornament, which characterise the costume of the native soldier. He conceived that the Seapoy would make a better figure on the parade, if smugly trimmed, and hatted after the English military fashion; and general orders were immediately issued to effect this *judicious* change. The Seapoys received the intelligence with horror. Usages endeared to them by the practice of their fathers, and sanctified by remotest antiquity, were to be violated; and the symbols of their nation, their faith, and their caste, to be thrown into the dust, in order to gratify the fancy of a stranger, and, as they conceived, of a tyrant. The tidings circulated silently, but rapidly, among these gallant troops, on whose fidelity our Indian possessions so materially depend. Inveterate hatred supplanted, in a moment, their long attachment to their masters; a general massacre of the Europeans was suggested and

organised; the tocsin sounded in Vellore, and its streets were bathed with British blood; and, had not the most wise, prompt, and decisive measures been instantly acted upon, by those who had somewhat more sagacity than the author of the evil, the whole of India had speedily been lost to England, for the sake of a smooth lip and a cocked hat.

A similar measure of bad policy was put in practice by the Conqueror, and induced consequences, which, though not of so sanguinary a complexion as those that followed the Vellore attempt, were yet sufficiently provoking to the king, and distressing to the objects of his despotism. The Anglo-Saxons (like a wise people as they were) kept the hair moderately cropped, and (possibly for convenience, as there were then no patent strops, or well-set razors) indulged in a whisker on the upper lip. The Normans, on the other hand, saw great beauty in flowing locks, but regarded with disgust any hairy appendage to the face. William, either besotted to the fashion of his country, or desirous of reducing the two people, as much as possible, to a resembling exterior,

issued an ordinance, that the face should appear throughout his newly-acquired kingdom without a beard. But considerable indignation was excited among the Anglo-Saxons, by this wanton act of power ; and, as resistance was vain, many of them chose rather to quit their native land, than relinquish what they had nourished from time immemorial as the chief ornament of their face.*

The Norman fashion, as far as it concerned the *hair*, seems to have maintained its popularity and form, with some little fluctuations,†

* Matt. Paris, Vit. Abb. p. 30.

† A great resistance, however, was made, on the part of the clergy, against the introduction of the long curled hair of the Normans into the English costume; originating, probably, in a little secret envy at an ornament which their own *tonsure* prevented them from indulging in. Anselm archbishop of Canterbury thundered out his excommunications against these devotees to a foreign fashion; and Serlo, another prelate, preached against long locks on the male head, with such powerful effect, that Henry I. and his courtiers, who were among the bishop's auditors, consented *instantly* to resign the flowing tresses, of which they had hitherto been so vain. The prudent prelate allowed no time for their zeal to cool, but immediately pulled out a large pair of shears

her ages: but caprice was allowed to indulge all her wantonness, with respect to the cut of the *beard*, which, in despite of William's tyranny, soon afterwards made its appearance, and, under one shape or another, garnished the English countenance till after the Restoration.

In the caustic and witty letter of Julian to the effeminate and licentious people of Antioch, who had incurred his anger by their libels and satires upon his government and person, he tells them, that, as his countenance was such as did not prepossess people in his favour, he had imposed another deformity upon it, that of a *profuse beard*; "in which," says he, "I am content to bear with the vermin running backwards and forwards, as wild beasts in a wood."* Such, assuredly, would have been the inconvenience experi-

from his sleeve, and sacrificed the wicked ringlets upon the spot.—Orderic. Vital. p. 816. A sudden destruction, also, was levelled against long hair in the time of Henry VIII., who issued a peremptory order that all his attendants and courtiers should pole their heads.—Stowe, p. 571.

* *Misopogon. Spanhemii. Julian. tom. i. p. 338.*

enced by our ancestors in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had they not been provided with an implement, absolutely necessary, for the long, thick, and flowing beard, though it was not to be found on the toilette of the Roman Emperor. This implement was a *comb*, probably, of particular construction, and, certainly, dedicated exclusively to this particular purpose. The great discovery, once made, became a necessary adjunct to the beard, and continued to be devoted to its service as long the beard itself was fashionable; for, in an old play, written by Heywood, and printed in 1633, we have one of the characters telling us, that “for men we have head-combs, and *beard-combs* too!”

The form of the beard, whatever that shape might be, continued to be general, among the better classes in England, till the *Puritans* arose; who, disdaining to change their appearance with every absurd variation of fashion, adopted a sober costume, and maintained it through all the vicissitudes of their eventful history. The beard, of course, underwent no alteration with them: it was

ample when the sect sprang up, and the *tile-like* cut of it was religiously preserved by them for a century.* Butler has drawn its portrait minutely, and made it typical of those sentiments which it suited his purpose to attribute to its wearer:

“ His tawny beard was th’ equal grace
Both of his wisdom and his face :
In cut and dye so like a *tile*,
A sudden view it would beguile :

* An old writer has touched upon this variety in the forms of beards. “ Some are shaven from the chin, like those of the Turks; not a few cut short, like the beard of Marquis Otto; some made round, like a rubbing-brush; others with a *pique devan* (or brought to a point): oh, fine fashion! others being suffered to grow long: the barbers being grown as cunning in this behalf as the tailors. And, therefore, if a man have a lean and straight face, a Marquis Otto’s cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter-like, a long slender beard will make it small and narrower; if he be weasel-beaked, then so much hair left on the cheeks will make the owner look big, like a bowdled hen, and so grim as a goose.—Harrison’s Description of Britain, p. 172. Henry VIII. prohibited *beards* at the great table in Lincoln’s-Inn Hall, under pain of paying double commons: and Elizabeth, in the first year of her reign, confined beards to a fortnight’s growth; but the fashion prevailed so strongly, that the prohibition was repealed.—Pennant’s London.

The upper part whereof was whey,
 The nether, orange mixt with grey.
 This hairy meteor did denounce
 The fall of sceptres and of crowns;
 With grissly type did represent
 Declining age and government;
 And tell, with hieroglyphic spade,
 Its own grave and the state's were made:
 Like Sampson's heart-breakers, it grew
 In time to make a nation rue,
 Tho' it contributed its own fall
 To wait upon the public downfal.
 It was monastic, and did grow
 In holy orders by strict vow;
 Of rule as sullen and severe,
 As that of rigid Cordeliere;
 'Twas bound to suffer persecution,
 And martyrdom with resolution;
 T' oppose itself against the hate
 And vengeance of the incens'd state;
 In whose defiance it was worn,
 Still ready to be pull'd and torn;
 With red-hot irons to be tortur'd,
 Reviled, and spit upon, and martyr'd.
 Maugre all which, 'twas to stand fast,
 As long as monarchy should last;
 But when the state should hap to reel,
 'Twas to submit to fatal steel,
 And fall, as it was consecrate,
 A sacrifice to fall of state.*

* Hudibras, part i. cant. i. l. 24. It is said, that many of the Puritans had made a vow never to cut

The adherents to the royal cause could not altogether relinquish the beard, although it made so conspicuous a feature in the personal appearance of their enemies: they, therefore, chose a middle course, and altered its form, without discarding the article. A sort of vandyke cut was adopted, to contrast with the parallelogram of the commonwealth's men. The beard was sloped to a point; and the upper lip, disencumbered of an amorphous mass of hair, was graced with a pair of slender horizontal mustachios; which, in the mutations of fashions, have been again adopted into the military costume of some of our own gallant legions.

When the morbid influence which extravagant or outré *dress* exercises over the mind is considered, it will appear to be a subject not altogether beneath the notice of the moralist or philosopher. "Fine feathers" make, not only "fine," but *foolish* "birds:" and they

their beards, till the parliament had subdued the king. A further account of the *forms* of the beard, in the reigns of Charles I. and II. may be seen in Taylor's *Superbiæ Flagellum*, and Gray's *Hudibras*, v. i. p. 300.

who follow fashion through all her flights, and devote themselves to personal decoration, will, after a short apprenticeship, lose all that is dignified in personal character. May it not be suspected, for instance, that the *tassels*, and *chains*, and *fringes*, and *furs*, of a lately much-talked-of fashionable corps, have had some influence in generating a pride, conceit, and coxcombry hitherto unknown in our army, and utterly dissimilar to the noble, unaffected, and manly character of the BRITISH SOLDIER?

The history of WIGS, in our own country, is but of recent date, as they appear to have been among the many *good things* for which England was indebted to the Continent, so lately as the restoration of Charles the Second. They had been known, however, and popular, in other nations, from high antiquity. The Greeks and Romans wore false hair; and the Carthaginian Hannibal adopted the custom, either from necessity or foppery. Lampridius gives a description of the Emperor Commodus's wig, which was powdered with gold dust, and anointed with unguents of an agreeable odour, to fix this

icious material to the locks. It appears not probable that, even then, not merely a vain imitation of pomp, but the effects of vicious lantry, might have given occasion to this mention. For further information on this subject, the reader is referred to the learned commentators on the satirical exclamation of Caesar's soldiers, during his triumphal entry to Rome:—*Urbani servate uxorem, mæchum vum adducimus!* Henry the Third of France lost his hair by his vices; he had, therefore, one of the caps, then usually worn, covered with hair; but yet he ventured not to take off his hat in the presence of his Queen, of the foreign ambassadors, for fear they would observe his loss. In 1518, John duke of Saxony ordered his head bailiff at Coburg to procure for him, from Nurenberg, a handsome false head of hair, but secretly, (wrote he) that it may not be known that it is for us; let it be curled, and so contrived that it may be put on the head without being observed. But, in the reign of Louis XIV., when polite manners and gallantry had become so general, men more sensibly affected with

cold, &c., and bald heads more common, they were no longer ashamed of the caps covered with false hair: even many people who had not lost their own, wore these false coverings of the head, from an affectation of fashionable gallantry. This gave rise to the idea of weaving hair into a linen cloth; and, likewise, into *fringes*, which were used for some time under the name of *Milan points*. These fringes or laces of hair were sewed in rows to the plain caps, which were now made of a thinner sheep-skin; and were called by the French, *perruque*; by the Germans, *parucke*; and by the English, *periwig*, who afterwards contracted or corrupted the word, into *wig*. At length a kind of triple-thread tresses were invented, which were sewed to ribbands, or strips of stuff, stretched out and fixed to a cawl, fastened on a block in the shape of a human head. The result of this process was the *modern wig*. The first person who wore a *perruque*, was a French Abbè, named La Riviere. At one time, this ornament of the head was so thick, so loaded with hair, and so long, that it hung down as low as the waist;

so that a person who had a lean visage was quite hidden by this voluminous bush of hair. The fore part of the wig was, likewise, worn very high in France ; this was called *devant d la Fontagne*, from the marquis of that name, who had brought it into vogue in the time of Louis XIV. At length a certain man, of the name of *Ervais*, discovered the happy art of *frizzing* the wig ; by which means he made a small quantity of hair assume the appearance of a respectable mass. The *bag-wigs* came into fashion during the regency of the Duke of Orleans ; and thence obtained the name of *perruques d la regence*. The Emperor Charles VI. would allow no one to be admitted into his presence, unless he were adorned with a wig of *two tails*. See Month. Mag. 1800, i. page 51. On the journey into Spain, undertaken by Prince Charles and his precious *compagnon de voyage*, Buckingham, to court the Infanta, they tarried a “ whole day ” at Paris ; where, says Sir Henry Wotton, (Life of Duke of Buck. p. 85, 2d edit.) “ for the better veiling of their visages, his Highness and the Marquis bought each of

them a *periwig*, somewhat to overshadow their foreheads." And to bring this sketch of the history of *wigs* to a close, there is a tradition, that the large *black wig*, which Dr. Rawlinson bequeathed, among other things, to the Bodleian library, was worn by Charles the Second.—Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. vi. page 27.

DUELLING.

Our Author, who overlooks nothing characteristic in the manners of the age in which his story engages him, has introduced into that of Kenilworth the account of a personal combat between Leicester and Tresilian, and of a *rencontre* of the latter gentleman with Richard Varney. They are quite in their place; for in no period of the English history were *duels* more frequent than in part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; nor ever conducted with so much quaint ceremony and solemn formality. The introduction of

pernicious practice into the world is a matter of curious reflection. In the most polished times of antiquity we find nothing of it. Neither in Athens, during its best period, nor in Rome, when most civilized, do its traces to be discovered; nor does it appear to exist, even in the modern world, except amongst the European nations, and in those countries which have long been in contact with the quarter of the globe. The fact is, that the usage, with all its guilt or advantages, (for as its advocates,) had its origin in the age and manners of *chivalry*, when every thing was to be effected by the *personal* daring of the knight himself, the sole depository of his own honour; and who considered it as infinitely disgraceful to delegate to any other arm the execution of his fame, his revenge, or his actions. The notion once inspired was cherished and confirmed by the institutions which were framed to sanction it. The personal combat, properly denominated the *duel*, was recognised by the law of the land: courts were established, and officers appointed to arrange, superintend, and regulate its pro-

ceedings. It was determined (where circumstances permitted) in the presence of majesty, sometimes of beauty, and almost always of the constituted authorities. Minute formalities gave a solemnity to it, and chivalrous ceremonies threw an imposing splendour around it. Thus established and encouraged, it became a rooted custom throughout all the feudal kingdoms; and it cannot be denied, that it had a considerable influence in allaying the ferocity, and increasing the courtesy and polish, of nations, which were not in a state, as yet, to understand, and be actuated by, the superior motives of reason, common sense, and religion, in their personal and social conduct. In our own country, the *duel*, with all its enacted regulations, continued to be appealed to by the noble and the brave, till the dreadful intestine contests between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, which, in their progress, quenched every spark of knightly courtesy; obliterated every trace of high, honorable, chivalrous feeling; defied all legal and civilising sanctions; filled the opposing parties with the most ferocious mutual hatred;

and suggested acts of violence and inhumanity, which the age of knighthood would have revolted from with horror.

It is difficult, indeed, to conceive the change that was wrought in the national character during this gloomy period. The parliamentary rolls of the times are full of complaints and supplications to the throne, or the ministers, from individuals who had suffered every species of violence in person or in property. The acts complained of are of the following atrocious nature, which sufficiently manifest the general appearance of disorder, barbarism, injustice, and contempt of all law and feeling, which then characterised our bleeding country,

An abbot, having been three years in possession of his abbey, was ousted forcibly by another, who had obtained the pope's grant of it over his head. The dispossessed abbot, with his brother, and forty friends, armed from head to foot, attacked the other; shot at him several barbed arrows to kill him; wounded him, and three of his followers; and took away his jewels, plate, and property.
—Rolls Parl. iv. 28.

The prior and canons of Bernewell, claiming the tenants of Chesterton as their bond ceorles, who denied their being slaves to them, six priests and canons, at the instigation of another priest, laid in wait for one of the resisting tenants, on the king's highway, beat and wounded him almost to death; took away his books and bills; and kept him in prison seven years: the marks of his wounds still remaining, when he petitioned parliament for relief.—Ib. page 61.

It was stated to parliament, that a great number of scholars and clerks of Oxford, armed and arrayed for war, often dispossessed and ousted many persons of the contiguous counties of Oxford, Berks, and Buckingham, of their lands and tenements, so that their owners could not live on them.—Ib. p. 131.

In Cambridge, its county, and in Essex, several persons sent orders to many people, commanding them to put great sums of money in certain places, or their houses should be burnt. Many mansions were robbed and destroyed accordingly. The Irish, Welsh, and Scotch scholars at the university are de-

clared to be the authors of these atrocities.—
Ib. page 358.

In 1430, the House of Commons called the attention of the government to the murders, rapes, robberies, and burnings, that pervaded the counties of Salop, York, Nottingham, Derby, and Sussex.—Ib. page 421.

A lady of quality's house was attacked by a gentleman, with an armed party, who forced an entrance at five in the morning; carried her away from her bed in her linen and kirtle only; took her to the church, and insisted on the priest marrying him to her. She refused; he menaced; the priest complied, read the ceremony, and, in spite of her resistance, she was married to the ruffian, and taken away by him into a wild and desolate part of Wales.—Ib. page 497.

In 1439, another lady of great distinction complained of her late husband's great friend, who had undertaken to conduct her to her sick mother. On the way, an armed ambush, which he had secretly provided, started into the road, smote her on the arm, and beat down her servant. Her friend pretended to relieve

her ; but it was only to carry her to the marches of Wales ; where he kept her without any meat or drink, except a little whey, till she was nearly dead, that she might consent to marry him. On her refusal, she was put into a dungeon at Glamorgan, and threatened to be transported to the Snowdon mountains. Though she was pregnant, she was forced to a church ; and, persisting in her refusal, was taken away, and robbed of her honour.—*Ib.* v. 15.

In 1472, as the deputy of the dutchy of Cornwall was sitting on the bench, a gentleman who had malice against him for the office, suddenly, with fourteen armed men, attacked, and grievously wounded him and his servants ; tore the official rolls ; and robbed and imprisoned him, that he might bleed to death, unless he would give the relief and pecuniary bonds which they desired. After they had let him go, the same person procured others to waylay him at a fair ; who killed him, clove his skull into four pieces ; cut off one of his legs, one of his arms, and his head ; and stripped his body of all his money.—*Ib.* 35.

In the same year, as another person was travelling in Yorkshire, three brothers, for some grudge, suddenly thrust at him with their pears; and when he had fallen from his horse, with their swords they smote off both his hands, and one of his arms, and hamstrung his legs, and left him bleeding and dying, taking away his armour. They then endeavoured to get into the Duke of Gloucester's service, to have his protection against all legal consequences.—Ib. page 38.

About the same time, as Sir John Asheton, with his lady, and family, and friends, were at his manor-house, she then in child-bed, a squire, at the head of two hundred persons in arms, and sounding their horns and trumpets, at two in the morning attacked his fortified house, broke down the walls, and, with fire that they brought with them, set fire to the gates. To save his wife's life, and stop the outrages, he was compelled to submit to them. They carried him to Pomfret Castle, and extorted from him a bond of one thousand pounds.—Ib. page 51.

In 1477, a gentleman headed twenty-four

persons, by command of the Duke of Clarence, broke into a lady's house, and carried her off violently to Bath; took all her jewels and money; separated her from her servants, and imprisoned her; and then caused her to be indicted on an absurd charge of contriving the death of the dutchess.—*Ib.* 173.*

When to this picture we add the decline of literature throughout the country, the contempt of religion, and the neglect of arts, manufactures, and commerce, we must consider the period of the wars between the factions of the Houses of York and Lancaster as one of the darkest in our annals; nor shall we be surprised at the genius of chivalry and courtesy having fled from such scenes of hubbub and horror. In fact, the last example of true knightly feeling lingered only with Edward the Fourth, and with him expired.

The union of the Roses, however, under Henry the Seventh, restored law and order to the kingdom; and the succeeding spirited reign was a prelude to the romantic character of Elizabeth's times; when, as we have already

* *Turner's Hist. Eng.* iii. 470, note.

remarked, a faint shadow of chivalric peculiarities (or, perhaps more properly speaking, a certain affectation of them) again appeared among the courtly and the noble ; the regular *duel* was once more revived ; resorted to as the proper appeal of injured honour ; and conducted with as much courtesy and form as an affair of mortal strife could be supposed to admit. It must be allowed, however, that if the ferocity of the preceding age was meliorated by the restoration of legal authority, and the progress of civilization, in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. the propensity to decisions by the sword was by no means abated. The nobility and gentry, fastidious on the point of honour, irascible in spirit, and impatient of affront or contradiction, were still perpetually engaged in *duels* ; a practice which formed a marked feature in the manners of the gallant and the gay in the sixteenth century ; descended through succeeding ages ; and, though materially weakened, has not been entirely overcome by the good sense and refinement of the present times.

A few of the most remarkable duels on record are subjoined, as illustrations of the *causes* which occasioned them, and of the *mode* in which they were decided.

The very curious autobiography of the celebrated Lord Herbert of Cherbury; published by the late Lord Orford, affords many examples of the influence of this Don Quixotte spirit on a courtier's behaviour of the period under consideration. The extracts, however, from this work chiefly relate to the nature of the *trifling causes* in which these sanguinary decisions usually originated.*

* The duels at this time were determined with *swords*, either on foot or on *horseback*; and the science (for it was then a science) of fighting them was taught by regular masters, in all the civilised countries in Europe. Lord Cherbury received his principal instructions in France; and has given us the following hints as to the latter mode of duelling.

"The manner of fighting a duel on *horseback* I was taught thus. We had each of us a reasonable stiff riding-rod in our hands, about the length of a sword, and so rid one against the other; he, as the more expert, sat still, to pass me, and then to get behind me, and after to turn with his right hand upon my left side, with his rod, that so he might hit me

"Passing two or three days here," (the Castle of Merlow,) "it happened one evening, that a daughter of the dutchess" (of Montmorency), "of *about ten or eleven years of age*, going one evening from the castle to walk in the meadows, myself with divers French gentlemen attended her, and some gentlewomen that were with her. This young lady, wearing a knot of ribband on her head, a French chevalier took it suddenly, and

with the point thereof in the body; and he that can do this handsomely is sure to overcome his adversary, it being impossible to bring his sword about enough to defend himself, or offend the assailant. And to get this advantage, (which they call in French, *gagner la crouppe*,) nothing is so useful as to make a horse to go only sideward, till his adversary be past him; since he will, by this means, avoid his adversary's blow or thrust, and on a sudden get on the left hand of his adversary, in the manner I formerly related. But of this art let *Labrone* and *Plurinel* be read, who are excellent masters of the art; of whom, I must confess, I learned much; though, to speak ingenuously, my breaking two or three colts, and teaching them afterwards those airs of which they were most capable, taught me both what I was to do, and made me see mine errors, more than all their precepts." —Ib. 48.

fastened it to his hatband ; the young lady, offended herewith, demands her ribband, but he refusing to restore it, the young lady addressing herself to me, says, ‘ Monsieur, I pray get my ribband from that gentleman.’ Hereupon, going towards him, I courteously, with my hat in my hand, desired him to do me the honour, that I may deliver the lady her ribband, or bouquet, again ; but he roughly answering me, ‘ Do you think I will give it you, when I have refused it to her?’ I replied, ‘ Nay, then, Sir, I will make you restore it by force.’ Whereupon, putting on my hat, and reaching at his, he, to save himself, ran away, and after a long course in the meadow, finding that I had almost overtook him, he turned short, and running to the lady, was about to put the ribband on her hand, when I, seizing upon his arm, said to the young lady, ‘ It was I that gave it.’ ‘ Pardon me,’ says she, ‘ it is he that gives it me.’ I said then, ‘ Madam, I will not contradict you ; but if he dare say that I did not constrain him to give it, I will *fight with him.*’ The French gentleman answered nothing thereunto for the present ;

and so conducted the young lady again to the castle. The next day I desired Mr. Aurelian Townsend to tell the French cavalier, that either *he must confess that I constrained him to restore the ribband, or fight with me.* But the gentleman, seeing him unwilling to accept of this challenge, went out from the place; whereupon I following him, some of the gentlemen that belonged to the Constable taking notice hereof, acquainted him therewith; who, sending for the French cavalier, checked him well for his sauciness in taking away the ribband from his grandchild, and afterwards bade him depart his house; and this was all that I ever heard of the gentleman; with whom I proceeded in that matter, because I thought myself obliged thereunto by the oath taken when I was made Knight of the Bath.”*

* This oath is one remnant of a superstitious and romantic age, which an age, calling itself enlightened, still retains. The solemn service at the investiture of knights, which has not the least connection with any thing holy, is a piece of the same profane pageantry. The oath being no longer supposed to bind, it is a strange mockery to invoke Heaven on so trifling an occasion. It would be more strange, indeed, if every

“ The third that I questioned in this kind was a Scotch gentleman, who, taking a ribband in the like manner from Mrs. Middleton, a maid of honour, as was done from the young lady above-mentioned, in a back room behind Queen Anne’s lodgings at Greenwich, she likewise desired me to get her the said ribband. I repaired, as formerly, to him in a courteous manner, to demand it ; but he refusing, as the French cavalier did, I caught him by the neck, and had almost thrown him down, when company came in and parted us. I offered, likewise, to fight with this gentleman, and came to the place appointed by Hyde-Park ; but this, also, was interrupted, by order of the lords of the council, and I never heard more of him.”*

knight, like the too conscientious Lord Herbert, thought himself bound to cut a man’s throat every time a miss lost her top-knot.—Herbert’s Life, p. 60.

* Lord Herbert’s Life, page 62. The clergy, both of our own country and France, have ever been strenuous remonstrants, in their sermons and publications, against duelling ; but with success very disproportioned to their earnestness. The war between religion

The duel to which the following letter relates is of a different complexion to any of Lord Herbert's rencounters. It took place between Lord Bruce and Sir Edward Sackville (afterwards Baron of Kinross), in 1613; and appears to have been one of the most bloody recorded in history. It terminated in the death of Lord Bruce; who was actuated by an unquenchable thirst of revenge. The

divine reason, and *human passion*, will generally terminate in the triumph of the latter. Though the understanding may be convinced, the flaming carnal principle will still be unquenched. In Jeremy Taylor's *sermon of Christ*, he has answered the duellist's argument, drawn from the force of human passions, with natural force and simplicity. "Flesh and blood cannot bear the insult," says the duellist. "True," replies the bishop; "but recollect, that flesh and blood shall not see the kingdom of God." Sometimes, however, the pulpit exhortation of a good divine was not without its influence on the perverse spirit of these men of honour, as they have been erroneously supposed. Bayle tells us, he had heard that Michael le Ducheur (in the seventeenth century) preached once with so much eloquence against duelling, that the marshal de la Force, who was present at the sermon, protested, before some men of the sword, that if a challenge were sent him, he would not accept it. Dict. vol. iii. page 18.

survivor transmitted the ensuing deeply interesting account of it to his friend : it is published in the Guardian, and Collins's Peerage.

“ Sir Edward Sackville's relation of the fight between him and Lord Bruce.

“ Worthy Sir,—As I am not ignorant, so ought I to be sensible, of the false aspersions some authorless tongues have laid upon me, in the report of the unfortunate passage that lately happened between the Lord Bruce and myself; which as they are spread here, so I may justly fear they reign also where you are. There are but two ways to resolve doubts of this nature—by oath or by sword. The first is due to magistrates, and communicable to friends; the other to such as maliciously slander, and impudently defend their assertions. Your love, not my merit, assures me you hold me your friend; which esteem I am much desirous to retain. Do me, therefore, the right to understand the truth of that; and, in my behalf, inform others, who either are, or may be, infected with sinister rumours, much prejudicial to that fair opinion I desire

to hold amongst all worthy persons. And, on the faith of a gentleman, the relation I shall give is neither more nor less than the bare truth. The inclosed contains the first citation sent me from Paris by a Scotch gentleman, who delivered it to me in Derbyshire, at my father-in-law's house ; after it follows my then answer, returned him by the same bearer. The next is my accomplishment of my first promise, being a particular assignation of place and weapons, which I sent by a servant of mine by post from Rotterdam, as soon as I landed there. The receipt of which, joined with an acknowledgment of my too fair carriage to the deceased lord, is testified by the last, which periods the business until we met at Tergosa in Zealand, it being the place allotted for rendezvous ; where he, accompanied with one Mr. Crawford, an English gentleman, for his second, a surgeon, and a man, arrived with all the speed he could. And there, having rendered himself, I addressed my second, Sir John Heidon, to let him understand that now all following should be done by consent, as concerning the terms

whereon we should fight, as also the place. To our seconds we gave power for their appointments ; who agreed we should go to Antwerp, from thence to Bergen-op-Zoom, where in the midway but a village divides the States' territories from the Archduke's ; and there was the destined stage, to the end, that having ended, he that could might presently exempt himself from the justice of the country, by retiring into the dominion not offended. It was farther concluded, that in case any should fall or slip, that then the combat should cease ; and he whose ill-fortune had so subjected him, was to acknowledge his life to have been in the other's hands. But in case one party's sword should break, because that could only chance by hazard, it was agreed the other should take no advantage, but either then be made friends, or else, upon even terms, go to it again. Thus these conclusions being each of them related to his party, were by us both approved and assented to. Accordingly we embarked for Antwerp ; and by reason my lord, as I conceive, because he could not handsomely without danger of

discovery, had not paired the sword I sent him to Paris, bringing one the same length, but twice as broad ; my second excepted against it, and advised me to match my own, and send him the choice ; which I obeyed, it being, you know, the challenger's privilege to elect his weapon. At the delivery of the sword, which was performed by Sir John Heidon, it pleased the Lord Bruce to choose my own ; and then, past expectation, he told him, that he found himself so far behind hand, as a little of my blood would not serve his turn, and therefore he was now resolved to have me alone ; because he knew, (for I will use his own words,) ' that so worthy a gentleman, and my friend, could not endure to stand by, and see him do that which he must do to satisfy himself and his honour.' Hereupon Sir John Heidon replied, that such intentions were bloody and butchery, far unfitting so noble a personage, who should desire to bleed for reputation, not for life ; withal adding, that he thought himself injured, being come thus far, now to be prohibited from executing those honourable offices he

came for. The lord, for answer, only reiterated his former resolutions; whereupon Sir John, leaving him the sword he had elected, delivered me the other, with his determinations. The which, not for matter, but manner, so moved me, as though to my remembrance I had not of a long while eaten more liberally than at dinner, and therefore unfit for such an action, (seeing the surgeons hold a wound upon a full stomach much more dangerous than otherwise,) I requested my second to certify him, I would presently decide the difference, and therefore he should presently meet me on horseback, only waited on by our surgeons, they being unarmed. Together we rode, but one before the other some twelve score, about two English miles; and then passion, having so weak an enemy to assail as my direction, easily became victor, and, using his power, made me obedient to his commands. I being verily mad with anger the Lord Bruce should thirst after my blood with a kind of assuredness, seeing I had come so far and needlessly to give him leave to regain his lost reputation, I bade him alight;

which with all willingness he quickly granted ; and there in a meadow, ankle deep in water at the least, bidding farewell to our doublets, in our shirts began to charge each other, having afore commanded our surgeons to withdraw themselves a pretty distance from us, conjuring them besides, as they respected our favours or their own safety, not to stir, but suffer us to execute our pleasures ; we being fully resolved (God forgive us!) to dispatch each other by what means we could. I made a thrust at my enemy, but was short ; and in drawing back my arm, I received a great wound thereon, which I interpreted as a reward for my short shooting ; but in revenge I pressed into him, though I then missed him also, and then received a wound in my right pap, which past level through my body, and almost to my back. And there we wrestled for the two greatest and dearest prizes we could ever expect trial for—honour and life. In which struggling, my hand, having but an ordinary glove on it, lost one of her servants, though the meanest, which hung by a skin, and to sight yet remaineth as before, and I am in hope one

day to recover the use of it again. But at last, breathless, yet keeping our holds, there past on both sides propositions of quitting each other's swords. But when amity is dead, confidence could not live; and who should quit first was the question, which on neither part either would perform; and re-striving again afresh, with a kick and a wrench together, I freed my long-captivated weapon. Which incontinently levying at his throat, being master still of his, I demanded if he would ask his life, or yield his sword; both which, though in that imminent danger, he bravely denied to do. Myself being wounded, and feeling loss of blood, having three conduits on me, which began to make me faint, and he courageously persisting not to accord to either of my propositions, through remembrance of his former bloody desire, and feeling of my present estate, I struck at his heart; but with his avoiding, mist my aim, but yet past through his body, and drawing out my sword, repast it again through another place; when he cried out, 'Oh! I am slain!' seconding his speech with all the force he had to cast me; but

being too weak, after I had defended his assault, I easily became master of him, laying him on his back ; when being upon him, I re-demanded if he would request his life ; but it seemed he prized it not at so dear a rate to be beholden for it, bravely replying, ‘ he scorned it.’ Which answer of his was so noble and worthy, as I protest I could not find in my heart to offer him any more violence, only keeping him down ; until at length his surgeon, afar off, cried out, ‘ he would immediately die, if his wounds were not stopped.’ Whereupon I asked if he desired his surgeon should come, which he accepted of ; and so being drawn away, I never offered to take his sword, accounting it inhuman to rob a dead man, for so I held him to be. This thus ended, I retired to my surgeon, in whose arms, after I had remained awhile, I lost my sight, and withal, as I then thought, my life also. But strong water and his diligence quickly recovered me ; when I escaped a great danger ; for my lord’s surgeon, when nobody dreamt of it, came full at me with his lord’s sword, and had not mine with my

sword interposed himself, I had been slain by those base hands ; although my Lord Bruce, weltering in his blood, and past all expectation of life, conformable with all his former carriage, which was undoubtedly noble, cried out, ‘ Rascal ! hold thy hand.’ So may I prosper as I have dealt sincerely with you in this relation ; which, I pray you, with the enclosed letter, deliver to my lord chamberlain. And so, &c. your’s, EDWARD SACKVILLE.”*

“ *Louvain, the 8th Sept. 1613.*”

It has been usually imagined, that making a *sawpit* the scene of action in a duel was a refinement of more modern times ; we have an anecdote on record, however, which carries the happy invention back as far as the reign

* Much such a desperate encounter, but attended with the death of both combatants, occurred in the year 1712, between the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun. They fought with swords in Hyde-Park ; and, “ neglecting the rules of art, seemed to run on one another,” (says Burnet,) “ as if they tried who should kill first.” Lord Mohun was killed during the conflict, and the duke died a few minutes after it was concluded.—Vol. ii. page 612.

of James the First, and explains the reason of such a judicious arrangement. "And now we have named Sir Thomas Compton," says the historian, "there will follow a story of his youthful actions, which, though done long time since, will not be uncomely to crowd in here. He had the remark of a low-spirited man when he was young, and truly his wife made him retain it to the last. But such as found him so in those vigorous days of duelling, would trample on his easiness; and there could not a worse character be imprinted on any man, than to be termed a coward. Among the rest, one Bird, a roaring captain, was the more bold and insolent against him, because he found him slow and backward, (which is a baseness of an overbearing nature,) and his provocations were so great, that some of Compton's friends taking notice of him, told him it were better to die nobly once, than live infamously ever; and wrought so upon his cold temper, that the next affront that this bold Bird put upon him, he was heartened into the courage to send him a challenge. Bird, a great massy fellow, confident of his own strength,

(disdaining Compton, being less both in stature and courage,) told the second that brought the challenge, in a vapouring manner, that he would not stir a foot to encounter Compton, unless he would meet him in a *sawpit*, where he might be sure Compton could not run away from him. The second, that looked upon this as a rhodomontado fancy, told him, that if he would appoint the place, Compton should not fail to meet him. Bird, making choice both of the place and weapon, (which, in the vain formality of fighters, was in the election of the challenged,) he chose a *saw-pit* and a *single sword*; where, according to the time appointed, they met. Being together in the pit, with swords drawn, and stript ready for the encounter, ‘Now, Compton,’ said Bird, ‘thou shalt not escape from me;’ and hovering his sword over his head, in a disdainful manner said, ‘Come, Compton, let’s see what you can do now.’ Compton, attending his business with a watchful eye, seeing Bird’s sword hovering over him, ran under it in upon him, and in a moment ran him through the body; so that his pride fell to

the ground, and there did sprawl out its last vanity. Which should teach us, that strong temptation is the greatest weakness ; and it's far from wisdom in the most arrogant strength to slight and disdain the meanest adversary.”*

To bring the history of duelling down to the present times, we may mention the *second* desperate combat which took place between the late Mr. Richard Brinsley Sheridan and Mr. Matthews ; who were both at that time residing at Bath. The particulars of it, as given by Mr. Sheridan's biographer, were as follows.†

“ When the flight took place,” (of Mr. Sheridan and Miss Linley to the continent,) “ it naturally became the subject of general conversation at Bath ; where, from the known intimacy that had subsisted between Matthews and Sheridan, and from a variety of circumstances, it was freely said that the former must have been concerned in the elopement. The conjecture was perfectly natural and well

* Wilson's Life of James the First, page 727.

† Watkins's Life of Sheridan, vol. i. page 35.

founded ; but Matthews thought proper to deny all knowledge of the transaction ; and he went so far as to throw out reflections injurious to the reputation of Miss Linley and her lover. The matter found its way into the newspapers ; and the Bath Paper contained some animadversions upon the fugitives, which excited much attention, as evidently coming from the pen of one who must have been well acquainted with their affairs and former history. Sheridan could not long be ignorant of these dastardly attempts to injure his honour, and to destroy the peace of one who had a claim upon him for the protection of her character. Having traced, for certainty, the calumny which had been so scandalously propagated, to the original author, our hero instantly proceeded to Bath ; but his arrival there was no sooner known, than Matthews thought it most expedient to decamp for London ; where he was as closely pursued by the man whom he had betrayed and abused. He was discovered in a tavern, at the corner of Henrietta-street and Bedford-street, Covent-Garden ; and the parties being resolutely

lent, they both drew their swords, while Mr. Charles Sheridan alone acted as the second in the fray. The rencontre was desperate, for each was a complete master of the weapon; but after a display of much courage and skill, Matthews was disarmed, and thrown upon the floor, in which situation he sued for his life. In addition to this, he signed a confession of the falsehoods which he had caused to be circulated; and this declaration was immediately published in the journal where the original paragraphs from the same hand had appeared. The vanquished party being thus completely covered with disgrace, retired to his estate in Glamorganshire; but, even there, he could not be free from the observation of his neighbours, for the whole story quickly spread throughout the kingdom, especially as the duel was one out of the ordinary practice of single combat, in this country.

“Stung by the sarcasms of his old companions, and irritated by being thrown out of the gay circle, where he had been considered as a leader, Matthews became almost frantic with rage; and, though conscience told him

that the blood of another could not obliterate the signature which he had affixed to his own confession of treachery, he resolved to perish in the attempt to get revenge. Accordingly, he returned once more to Bath, and immediately caused a message to be delivered to Sheridan, demanding another meeting. This the latter might have declined, by all the rules of duelling, and upon every principle of strict honour; for his antagonist having already, when defeated, obtained the grant of his life upon a condition that fixed upon him a mark of odium, had no right to the interview which he now sought. But though the friends whom Mr. Sheridan consulted on this occasion remonstrated, in strong terms, and with conclusive arguments, on the impropriety of complying with the requisition, his lofty spirit could not brook the idea of sheltering himself from a conflict under any plea whatever. It was accordingly settled, that the parties should meet, at four in the morning, on Kingsdown, near Bath, each attended by his second; who were, however, peremptorily interdicted from interfering their offices during

the contest. Punctually at the time appointed the combatants appeared on the ground ; and, after a discharge of pistols, neither of which took effect, they drew their swords. The onset was most desperate, and plainly indicated a fierce resolution, on both sides, to carry matters to the last extremity. Sheridan, indeed, endeavoured to disarm his adversary, as he had done before ; but in this he was foiled by the address of Matthews, and they closed. The struggle was now most desperate, and betrayed uncommon strength of muscular power, with mental energy, passion, and skill. After inflicting some severe wounds, they came to the ground, and in the fall both their swords were broken. Matthews, having now greatly the advantage by being uppermost, pressed hard upon Sheridan, and exultingly demanded whether he would beg his life ; to which he received for answer, that "he scorned it ;" and the conflict was renewed, even in that awkward situation, with all the fury that had marked it from the commencement.

" They mangled each other for some time with their broken swords : the point of that

of Matthews remained sticking partly in the cheek and ear of Sheridan, who being at length completely exhausted with the loss of blood, fainted upon the spot; in which situation he was removed to a chaise, and conveyed to Bath, Matthews and his friend at the same time setting off in another for London." Thus ended this memorable duel, which, in many particulars, though, happily, not in the result, very nearly resembled the deadly one between Sir Edward Sackville and Lord Bruce, in the reign of James the First, as before described.

Of *juvenile duels*, the most remarkable which we recollect occurred between General Perkins, of the marines, (whom we well knew thirty-five years ago, and who died long since, at his residence, Beech House, near Christchurch, Hants,) and the celebrated naval commander, Sir James Wallace. The former was a lieutenant of marines, and the latter a midshipman, on board the *Pegasus* ship of war; both of them irascible, high spirited, and as brave as young lions. A quarrel arose between them, and immediate *satisfaction*

was demanded by the offended party. They descended into their sub-marine *birth*. Pistols were produced: each took his seat on opposite sides of the mess-table, the distance between them being about five feet. At the same instant, both the parties fired. The ball of young Wallace entered the shoulder of Perkins, and that of the latter penetrated Wallace's groin. The wounds were, in time, healed; but their consequences were ever after apparent: Perkins went through life with a cocked shoulder; and Wallace limped upon a halt thigh, to his grave.

It is satisfactory to reflect, that, for many years past, no duel has occurred among us, attended with such savage circumstances as the one just described; and that the practice is certainly on the decline throughout the British dominions. Were it entirely obliterated, its extinction would be no blot in our national character; for, it may fairly be asserted, that, it is supported only by folly or profligacy, and that rarely, if ever, the man of real honour, high character, and worthy principles, is found to be engaged in such a

barbarous, absurd, and unequal mode of adjusting a dispute.*

* See the beautiful story of Eugenio, Adventurer, No. 64, 65, 66. In the commencement of the seventeenth century the duelling mania was, to the full, as prevalent in France as in England. Houssaie (*Memoires Historiques*, v. ii. p. 259) tells us, that, in the reign of Louis XIII., the first news enquired after every morning, when the people met in the streets or public places, were, ordinarily, "Who has fought yesterday?" and, in the afternoon, "Do you know who has fought this morning?" One Bouteville, at this time, distinguished himself for his enthusiastic attachment to the theory and practice of the murderous art. Every morning the professed duellists met at this man's house, in a great hall, where the councils of the fraternity were holden. De Valençay, an officer of eminence, who was at the head of this society, had such an itch for fighting, that one day he wanted to call out Bouteville, his most intimate friend, because this duellist had not chosen him for a second, in a duel which he had had within a few days. Nor would this duel have been compromised, but for another which Bouteville, in the gaiety of his heart, had, at that moment, with the Marquis de Portes, at which meeting De Valençay amused himself with the Marquis's second, one Carvis, and wounded him dangerously. Bouteville became the pest of Paris, and was at length publicly executed for fighting a duel on Easter day.—Many royal edicts were published in France, from 1599 to 1653; when, under the auspices

f Louis XIV., a code of laws (consisting of nineteen regulations) was prepared and established concerning satisfactions and reparations of honour;" which, we are told, was attended with the most salutary effect.—D'Israeli's Cur. Lit. first series, v. ii. p. 480. The ordinances of our own statute book have not been so available in England, though those against *murder* take in, as Blackstone says, "the case of *liberated duelling*; where both parties meet, avowedly, with an *intent to murder*; thinking it their duty as gentlemen, and claiming it as their right, to wanton with their own lives, and those of their fellow creatures, without any warrant or authority, from any power, either divine or human; but in direct contradiction to the laws both of God and man."—Com. vol. .p. 199. It is to be regretted, that, in deference to custom and popular prejudice, *murder by duelling* should be more lightly treated in the administration of the criminal law, than any other species of the same outrageous crime.



THE
FORTUNES OF NIGEL.

Our author has, in this novel, opened a new quarry for the increase of his own fame, and the gratification of his reader ; and though the ore which he has exposed to light be not, perhaps, of that precious description which the virgin mines of his own country afforded him ; yet he has purified it with such nice care, and worked it up with such consummate skill, that the product is little less estimable than those other results of his intellectual laboratory which are purely Scotch. The experiment, indeed, was hazardous ; but it has been successful. His subjects hitherto (with the exceptions of *Ivanhoe* and *Kenilworth*) had presented him with an unbounded field for

the exercise of those powers of description, which he so pre-eminently possesses. He had glens, and rocks, and woods, and wilds, before him,

Non rastris hominum non ulli obnoxia curæ,

untrodden by any of his predecessors; a race of people, original, interesting, distinguished from most others by a strongly-marked character, and a high moral dignity; and whose peculiarities were but little known to their most immediate neighbours; and a class of manners, habits, opinions, and superstitions, for his contemplation, which were curious, striking, local, and exclusive. These advantages, indeed, did not offer themselves with respect to *Ivanhoe* and *Kenilworth*, (the immediate precursors of *Nigel*,) but their absence was compensated by the rich and varied subjects presented to the descriptive faculty by the feudal and chivalric manners of the epoch of the former novel, and by the quaint and romantic character of Elizabeth's court and reign. In the story of *Nigel*, however, he has voluntarily quitted this vantage ground; descended into

the common arena; discarded the imaginative; and atchieved his victory solely by a happy exposition of *moral nature*, modified by existing manners, and acted upon by common impulses. He has rendered the "tower'd city" as interesting a subject of contemplation, as the glorious wilds of his own native soil; and made "the busy hum of men" to strike upon the fancy as impressively (though with different associations) as the warblings of his bordering vallies, or the mysterious echoes of his Highland passes.

With regard to the *construction of the fable*, however, he has, in Nigel, as in most of his other productions, been utterly careless. This seems to be a concern either below his notice, as being within the compass of more common powers; or a consideration which is forgotten in the parturition of births of higher moment. Hence we have his *apprentices* (which were, at first, evidently intended to be more intimately and importantly identified with the tale) brought forwards in the opening, with marked particularity; gradually fading away as the incidents are evolved; and altogether

removed from sight, or at least from action, before the conclusion of the drama. Hence we have the underplot of Hermione, equally awkward, improbable, and unimpassioned; and such a penurious exhibition of Margaret Ramsay, the heroine, as completely precludes all feeling of interest in her intermediate career, and eventual destiny. But here critical reproof must end. All else is admirable. The accuracy with which the manners are depicted is surprising: their keeping and consistency faultless. London, as it existed at the commencement of the seventeenth century, with its peculiar adjuncts of places, persons, and customs, is spread before us with the fidelity of a good engraving; and the characters do not astonish us more by their variety and contrast, than by the high but just colours in which they are drawn, and the undeniable evidence which each carries with it of its identity with human nature. James, whatever the author might intend, is unquestionably the hero of the piece. We cannot call it a "*wicked likeness*" which he has given us of the English Solomon; for this writer,

riably indulgent to the Stuarts, represents as good-natured, playful, and forgiving ; has produced a partial, though striking, picture of the sovereign ; but it is creditable to him as a draughtsman, (though not complementary to his secret favourable lenity towards jacobitism,) to perceive, that, with a desire to make James respectable, the adherence to his originals, which he observes in all his portraits, has interfered with wish ; and his Majesty stands before us, as the author designed him to appear, but not as he actually was,—both *contemptible* and *ridiculous*. It is James in his *holiday suit*, with no becoming article in his attire, as it be a childish and complexional good-ure. We do not wonder at the excellence of the limning in *Richie Moniplies*, for here the painter is again at home, and the colouring of a faithful Scotchman was familiar to his pencil ; but in the lively, witty, and profligate *garnie* ; in the high-principled but rugged *tho' Trapbois*, and the exquisitely avaricious *er of this lofty dame* ; in the bully Captain *pepper*, and the brutal sensualist Duke

Hildebrod ; he has ventured on a new class of subjects, and invested them with such an appearance of actuality, as compels the confession, that if they be ideal creations, they wear at least all the resemblance of real flesh and blood.

The coarseness of the scenes in Alsatia may, perhaps, be objected to, and by those who, possibly, are not too fastidious ; but if they be expunged, we must consent to sacrifice the curious manners of a place, whose character is now extinct ; and one of the finest descriptions of the terrible kind in this or any other novel, —the midnight murder of old Trapbois, and the heart-stirring grief of his extraordinary daughter.

Biographical Illustrations.

JAMES THE FIRST.

In looking back to the dynasties which have, at different times, filled the English throne, we find no one of them that asserts less claim to the affection of the subject, or the respect of posterity, than the Stuart race ; nor any line of consecutive princes, (whatever the dynasty may have been,) who have reigned less to their own credit, or the advantage of their country, than James the First, his son, and two grandsons. They have, indeed, been termed an *unfortunate* race ; but, as it should seem, not with sufficient accuracy ; for, however we may deplore the catastrophe of one, or sympathize with the fate of another, of this

family, yet it is to be recollected that their calamities were attributable to *themselves* alone ; and necessarily resulted from the irritation produced by their high, arbitrary, and unconstitutional conduct, upon the spirit of a people, who were beginning to see and appreciate their liberties as Englishmen ; who had learned to distinguish between prerogative and tyranny ; and who were goaded on to acts, terrible in one instance, and bold in the other, by a succession of oppressions, deceptions, and disappointments, which left them no alternative, but that of resorting, in their own persons, to the vindication of their natural and political rights :

Then, like a lion from his den,
Arose the multitude of men,
The injur'd people rose.

Akenside's Ode on 30th January.

Of James the First it might be said, had there not been darker points in his character, that the *ridiculous* formed its chief feature ; for he was ridiculous as a *king*, as a *theologian*, as an *author*, and as a *man*. But how can we dismiss him with the imputation of folly

or absurdity merely, when he openly gloried in craft and dissimulation; when his motto was *qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*; when he was heartless, as the father of the finest youth of his age; and when his gross attachment to a succession of worthless minions, furnished the strongest grounds of suspicion and assertion against his moral virtue.*

* In the third edition of Sir Anthony Welldon's "Court and Character of King James," &c. is the following preface by the "publisher to the reader."

"Amongst the many remarkable passages in this short relation, the reader may take notice chiefly of five things here discovered.

"*First*, How Almighty God was mocked, and the world-abused, by the Tuesday sermons at Court, and the anniversary festivals upon the fifth of August, in commemoration of King James's deliverance from the Gowries' conspiracy; whereas, indeed, there was no such matter, but a mere feigned thing, as appears by the story.

"*Secondly*, How this kingdom was gulled in the supposed treason of Sir Walter Rawley and others, who suffered as traitors; whereas to this day it could never be known that there was any such treason, but a mere trick of state to remove some blocks out of the way.

"*Thirdly*, The fearful imprecation made by King James against himself and his posterity, in the pre-

Sir Anthony Welldon tells us, that James's character was much easier to take than his

sence of many of his servants and the judges, even upon his knees, if he should spare any that were found guilty in the poisoning business of Sir Thomas Overbury ; but how he failed, this story will tell you ; and how the justice of God hath been, and is, upon himself and posterity, his own death by poison, and the sufferings of his posterity, do sufficiently manifest.

“ *Fourthly*, The untimely death of that hopeful Prince Henry is here partly discovered ; if the reader cannot, in this discourse, spell by what hand he was taken away ; yet he may observe a strange connivance at, and contentedness with, the thing done.

“ *Fifthly*, Here we may see what a slave King James was to his favourites ; this appears by many passages of this story, but especially by his passion at Greenwich, when the Lieutenant of the Tower told him of Somerset's threatening speeches,” (to betray *some secret* known only to the king and himself,) “ and by his agony, till he heard that Somerset took his arraignment patiently, and had told no tales.”—*Secret History of the Court of James I. vol. i. p. 309.*

The indifference with which James regarded the death of his son Henry occasioned suspicions (though entirely groundless) of his having been instrumental to it. None but the father appeared to be insensible of the magnitude of such a loss. “ He was,” says

picture; "for," says he, "he could never be brought to sit for the taking of that, which is the reason of so few good pieces of him; but his character was obvious to every eye;" and it must be confessed, if Sir Anthony were a faithful limner, (and his representation is corroborated by others,) that little of the amiable was to be discovered either in the king's person or mind.

"James," continues Welldon, "was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body; yet fat enough; his clothes ever being made large and easy, the doublets quilted for stiletto proof, his breeches in great plaits, and full stuffed; he was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the

the author of *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, "courteous and affable, naturally shamefaced and modest, patient and slow to anger; merciful, and judicious in punishing offenders; quick to conceive, yet not rash; very constant in resolves; wonderfully secret of any trust, even from his youth; his courage prince-like, fearless, noble, undaunted; saying that there should be nothing impossible to him, that had been done by another; most religious and christian, protesting his great desire to compose differences in religion."—P. 251.

reason of his quilted doublets;* his eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger that came in his presence, insomuch as many for shame have left the room, as being out of countenance; his beard was very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, which made him ever speak full in the mouth, and made him drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup on each side of his mouth; his skin was as soft as taffeta sarsnet, which felt so because

* His timidity was so great, that he could not endure the sight of a drawn sword. "He had," says Sir Kenelm Digby, "such an aversion to a *naked sword*, all his life time, that he could not see one without a great emotion of spirit; and, though other-ways courageous enough, he could not overmaster his passions in this respect. I remember, when he dubbed me knight, in the ceremony of putting a naked sword upon my shoulder, he could not endure to look upon it, but turned his face another way; insomuch, that in lieu of touching my shoulder, he had almost thrust the point into my eyes, had not the Duke of Buckingham guided his hand aright."—On the Power of Sympathy, p. 128, 4to. 1669. The pathologists of the time accounted for this infirmity in the king, by the shock received by Mary, at the murder of Rizzio, when she was pregnant with James.

he never washed his hands, only his fingers' ends lightly with a napkin; his legs were very weak, having had (as was thought) some foul play in his youth, or rather before he was born,* that he was not able to stand at seven years of age, that weakness ever made him leaning on men's shoulders; his walk was ever circular. He was very temperate in his exercises and in his diet, and not intemperate in his drinking; however, in his old age, Buckingham's jovial suppers, when he had any turn to do with him, made him sometimes overtaken, which he would the very next day remember and repent with tears; it is true, he drank very often, which was rather out of custom than any delight; and his drinks were of that kind for strength, as frontiniac, canary, high country wine, tent wine, and Scottish ale;† that, had he not a very strong brain, might have daily been overtaken, although he seldom drank at any one time above four spoonfuls, many times not above one or two.—In his

* Probably alluding to the murder of Rizzio, in his mother's presence, during her pregnancy.

† This year, 1614, as it was the meridian of the

diet, apparel, and journies, he was very constant: in his apparel so constant, as, by his goodwill, he would never change his clothes, until worn out to the very rags; his fashion, never; insomuch, as one bringing to him a hat of a Spanish block, he cast it from him,

king's glory in England, so was it of his pleasures. The king was *excessively addicted to hunting, and drinking*, not ordinary French and Spanish wines, but strong Greek wines; and though he would divide his hunting from drinking these wines, yet he would compound his hunting with these wines; and to that purpose he was attended by a special officer, who was, as much as he could be, always at hand to fill the king's cup in his hunting when he called for it. I have heard my father say, that, being hunting with the king after the king had drank of the wine, he also drank of it, and though he was young, and of an healthful disposition, it so disordered his head, that it spoiled his pleasure, and disordered him for three days after. Whether it was from drinking these wines, or from some other cause, the king became so lazy and unwieldly, that he was treist on horseback, and as he was set, so he would ride, without posing (poising) himself on his saddle; nay, when his hat was set on his head, he would not take the pains to alter it, but it sat as it was put on.—Roger Coke's *Detection of the Court and State of England during the four last reigns*. London, 1647, p. 70.

swearing he neither loved them, nor their fashions : another time, bringing him roses on his shoes, he asked, if they would make him a ruff-footed dove? one yard of sixpenny ribband served that turn : His diet and journies were so constant, that the best observing courtier of our time was wont to say, were he asleep seven years, and then awakened, he would tell every day where the king had been, and every dish he had had at his table. He was unfortunate in the marriage of his daughter, and so was all Christendom besides ; but sure the daughter was more unfortunate in a father, than he in a daughter. He was very liberal of what he had not in his own gripe, and would rather part with one hundred pounds he never had in his keeping, than one twenty shillings piece within his own custody ; and, had rather spend one hundred thousand pounds on embassies to keep or procure peace with dishonour, than ten thousand pounds on an army that would have forced peace with honour. He would make a great deal too bold with God in his passion, both in cursing and swearing, and one strain higher, verging on blasphemy. He was crafty

and cunning in petty things, as the circumventing any great man,* the change of a favourite, &c.; insomuch, as a very wise man was wont to say, he believed him the wisest

* Of this deep dissimulation we have innumerable proofs; but none, perhaps, more striking, than his behaviour to his former favourite, Somerset, when he had determined to relieve himself from such an incumbrance.

“The Earl of Somerset never parted from him with more seeming affection than at this time, when he knew Somerset would never see him more; and, had you seen that seeming affection, (as the author himself did,) you would rather have believed he was in his rising than setting. The earl, when he kissed his hand, the king hung about his neck, slabbering his cheeks, saying, ‘For God’s sake, when shall I see you again? On my soul, I shall neither eat nor sleep till you come again.’ The earl told him on Monday (this being on the Friday). ‘For God’s sake, let me,’ said the king, ‘shall I, shall I?’ then lolled about his neck: “Then, for God’s sake, give thy lady this kiss for me.’ In the same manner, at the stairs’ head, at the middle of the stairs, and at the stairs’ foot. The earl was not in his coach, when the king used these very words following (in the hearing of four servants, of whom one was Somerset’s great creature, and of the Bedford chamber, who reported it instantly to the author of this History): ‘I shall never see his face more.’”—Osborne, p. 410.

fool in christendom; meaning him wise in small things, but a fool in weighty affairs. He had trick to couzen himself in bargains under-stand, by taking one thousand pounds, or ten thousand pounds, as a bribe, when his council was treating with his customers to raise them so much more yearly. He was infinitely inclined to peace, but more out of fear than conscience; yet sometimes would he shew petty flashes of valour, which might easily be discerned to be forced, not natural: and, being forced, could have wished it rather to have recoiled back into himself, than carried to that thing it had concerned, lest he might have been put to the trial to maintain his seeming honour.”*

However unfavourable Welldon's portrait of King James may be, we must admit that other writers have painted it in still darker colours; so as fully to justify the caustic remarks of Bolingbroke and the Abbè Raynal.

He had no virtues to set off, (says his Lordship,) but he had vices to conceal. He could

* Secret Hist. of the Court of James I., v. ii. p. 1, infra.

not conceal the latter; and, void of the former, he could not compensate for them. His failings and his vices, therefore, stand in full view: he passed for a weak prince, and an ill man; and fell into all the contempt wherein his memory remains to this day.”* To which the Abbè adds, with great perspicuity and keenness, “ He wanted to appear pacific, and he was only indolent; wise, and he was only irresolute; just, and he was only timid; moderate, and he was only soft; good, and he was only weak; a divine, and he was only a fanatic; a philosopher, and he was only extravagant; a doctor, and he was only a pedant. No one ever carried the pretensions of the crown further than James; and few princes have contributed so much to vilify it. He found it easier to suffer injuries than revenge them; to dispense with the public esteem, than to merit it; and to sacrifice the rights of his crown than to trouble his repose by maintaining them. He lived on the throne, like a private man in his family: he retained of the royalty only the gift of healing the evil. One would have

* Letters on Patriotism, p. 214.

said, he was only a passenger in the vessel of which he might have been the pilot. This inaction made his days pass in obscurity, and prepared a tragical reign for his successor.”*

Buchanan had been his tutor, and (base as he was in other respects) had, doubtless, taken all due pains to infuse into him a portion of that erudition, which he so largely possessed himself: but the mind of James was too weak to concoct and digest it; and his learning, passing through such a laboratory, became a crude and heterogeneous mass, inapplicable to any great, or useful, or respectable purpose. Such as it was, however, he stood entirely indebted for it to his preceptor; and common gratitude should have inspired him with sentiments of respect and esteem, if not of affection, for the pains which this cultivator of his early powers had bestowed on so untoward a soil. But James was insensible to the feeling of gratitude. He hated the man and his memory; and spoke and wrote of him, and his works, in terms of the most sovereign contempt.†

* Monthly Review, 1751, p. 448.

King James's Works, p. 480, 176, fol. edit. 1616.

On the 12th of March 1578, when he was not quite twelve years of age, James entered upon the government of Scotland; and almost immediately fell into that pernicious system, which he adhered to through life, of conferring his favour exclusively on particular, and, too often, on the most undeserving objects,* and

* Of these favourites, Buckingham was the principal, the most powerful, and the most evil, as he carried the fatal influence into the succeeding reign, and contributed to the misfortunes which befel the misguided Charles I. The terms of degrading intimacy which subsisted between the king and this courtier are mentioned by Dr. Welwood. "The letters (says he) which passed between the king and Buckingham are written in a peculiar style of familiarity; the king, for the most part, calling him his *dear child and gossip Steiney*; and subscribing himself his *dear dad* and *gossip*, and sometimes his *dear dad and Stuart*. Buckingham calls the king, for the most part, *dear dad and gossip*; and subscribes, always, your Majesty's most *humble slave and dog Steiney*.—In one of James's letters, he tells Buckingham, he wears *Steiney's picture under his waistcoat, next his heart*; and in another he bids him, his only sweet and dear child, hasten to him to Borely that night, that his white teeth might shine upon him.—Among James's familiar letters to Buckingham, is the following, without date.

irecting his conduct by their interested or
rofligate councils. It was this infatuated

‘ My only sweet dear child,

‘ Blessing, blessing, blessing on thy heart’s
ot, and all thine, this Thursday morning. Here
a great store of game, as they say, partridges and
mcaleurs : I know who shall get their part of them ;
d here is the finest company of young hounds that
or was seen. God bless the sweet master of my
rriers, that made them to be so well kept all
ummer : I mean Tom Badger. I assure myself thou
lt punctually observe the diet and journey I set
eo down in my first letter from Theobald’s. God
as thee, and my sweet Kate, and Mall, to the com-
rt of thy dear dad,

‘ JAMES R.

‘ PS. Let my last compliments settle to thy heart,
l we have a sweet and comfortable meeting ; which
od send, and give thee grace to bid the drogues
ieu this day.’

“ The reason why James gave Buckingham the
me of *Steiney* was for his handsomeness ; it being
e diminutive of *Stephen*, who is always painted with
glory about his face.”—Com. Hist. Eng. v. i. p. 697.
Of James’s disgusting personal behaviour to his
vourites, we have accounts in Osborne, p. 274 and
584 ; Peyton’s *Divine Catastrophe*, p. 14 ; the Non-
ich Charles, his character, 1651, p. 17. Clarendon
mself confesses, that the first introduction of George
illars into favour with James was purely from the
andsomeness of his person.—Hist. v. i. p. 8, 9, 10.

behaviour which occasioned all the troubles and distractions of his Scottish reign; his seizure by the Earls of Mar and Gowry; the conspiracy of the Ruthvens, afterwards, (though it is yet an undecided point, whether the treachery here was on the part of the brothers, or the king); his quarrels with his own clergy, and the Roman Catholics; and, in short, all the misfortunes, and troubles, which befel him in his own country; and it was the adoption of the same principles of *favouritism*, when he assumed the sceptre in England, that degraded him, as Burnet says, into the scorn of the age; so that while hungry writers flattered him out of measure at home, he was despised by all abroad, as a pedant, without true judgment, courage, or steadiness; subject to his favourites; and delivered up to the counsels, or rather the corruption, of Spain.*

It seems somewhat paradoxical, that the reign of James in England, for three and twenty years, should have been so untroubled as it actually was, by intestine disturbance,

* Hist. of his own Times, v. i. p. 21.

or popular discontent ; more especially, as the oppressions of the people were severe, the royal profusion unexampled, the exactions of favourites enormous, and his Majesty's behaviour to his parliament irritating and insulting. But it must be recollected that the people had been *educated* into *passive obedience* by the circumstances of the preceding reign. The more than masculine character of Elizabeth had, literally, awe-stricken every order of her subjects; and she transmitted to her successor a set of statesmen, consummately sagacious, but equally ductile and unprincipled; a clergy, sycophant and slavish, with whom the favour of the prince was "the breath of their nostrils;" and a people, all but worshipping that prerogative, to which their eye had so long been turned up with wonder and submission. To change this almost universal tone of thinking into an opposite feeling, (for the *Puritans* alone were free from the delusion,) would necessarily be a work of time, and require a long course of absurd or violent conduct on the part of a prince, placed in circumstances so favourable to the increase, or, at least to

the maintenance, of his personal power. This alteration, however, in the general sentiments of his subjects towards the throne, James effected; and though its consequences did not unfold themselves during the course of his own life, yet they were fully, and fearfully, developed in the reign of his successor. Charles the First, unhappily, harsh, and proud, and severe in natural disposition; educated in false and high-flown notions of the extent and sacredness of prerogative, and of the entire irresponsibility of the throne to aught but God alone; impelled by the evil counsels of the inconsistent, weak, and profligate Buckingham; of the apostate Earl of Strafford; and the high-priest Laud; resorting first to violent, and then descending to ignoble, means, to shuffling and intrigue, to insincerity and dissimulation, for the attainment of improper ends—consummated what his father had begun; applied the match to the train which had long been preparing for inflammation; and produced an explosion of public feeling, that destroyed himself, and shook the national institutions into ruins.

James closed his ignoble reign at the age of 59, on the 27th March 1625, not without the public suspicion of his end having been hastened by the wicked contrivances of his favourite Buckingham, now losing his master's affection. Welldon closes his "Court and Character of King James" with a brief account of these suspicions, and their foundation.

"I shall now bring my story to an end, as I shall this king's life. He now goes his last hunting journey, (I mean the last of the year, as well as of his life,) which he ever ended in Lent, and was seized by an ordinary and moderate tertian ague; which, at that season, according to the proverb, was physic for a king, but it proved not so to him; and, poor king, what was but physic to any other, was made mortal to him! Yet, not the ague, as himself confessed to a servant of his now living, who cried, 'Courage, Sir, this is but a small fit, the next will be none at all;' at which he most earnestly looked, and said, 'Ah! it is not the ague that afflicteth me, but the black plaster and powder given me, and laid to my stomach.' And, in truth, the plaster so

tormented him, that he was glad to have it pulled off, and with it the skin also. Nor was it fair dealing, if he had fair play, (which himself suspected, often saying to Montgomery, whom he trusted above all men, in his sickness, ‘for God’s sake, look I have fair play,’) to bring in an empiric to apply any medicines, while those physicians appointed to attend him were at dinner; nor could any but Buckingham answer it with less than his life, at that present, as he had the next parliament, had it not been dissolved upon the very questioning him for the king’s death, and all those that prosecuted him utterly disgraced, and banished the court.

“Buckingham coming into the king’s chamber, even when he was at the point of death, and an honest servant of the king’s crying; ‘Ah, my Lord, you have undone us, and all his poor servants, although *you* are so well provided, you need not care;’ at which Buckingham kicked at him, who caught his foot and made his head first come to the ground, when Buckingham, suddenly rising, run to the dying king’s bedside, and cried, ‘Justice;

Sir! I am abused by your servant, and wrongfully accused ;' at which the poor king (become by that time speechless) mournfully fixed his eyes upon him, as who would have said 'not wrongfully.'""*

James's propensity to the pleasures of the chase has furnished the author of *Nigel* with the groundwork for an admirable description of a royal hunting-match, in which he has exhibited his usual veritable representation of the actual character, manners, and costume of the person and period depicted. Ben Johnson, in his masques of "*Gypsies Metamorphosed*," touches upon King James's fondness for hunting:

"You shall, by this line," (in his hand,)
 Love a horse and a hound, but no part of a swine:
 To hunt the brave stag, not so much for your food,
 As the weal of your body, and health o' your blood."

And Osborne marks his intense passion for the sport, by the severity with which the king punished all those who infringed upon the royal game. "Nay, I dare boldly

* *Weldon's Court and Character of King James*, p. 478.

venture to say, (he observes,) one man might with more safety have killed another than a rascal deer; but if a stag had been known to have miscarried, and the author fled, a Proclamation, with a description of the party had been presently penned by the Attorney-general, and the penalty of his Majesty's high displeasure (by which was understood the star-chamber) threatened against all that did abet, comfort, or relieve him." To which he adds a lively sketch of James's costume, when he was following his favourite pleasure: "I shall leave him dressed to posterity in the colours I saw him in the next progress after his inauguration, which was as green as the grass he trod on; with a feather in his cap; and a horn, instead of a sword, by his side."*

The attractions of this pastime, indeed, seduced James from his business and duties as a king; and induced him to commit those affairs to a council, which the monarch alone is competent to transact. The king, says Mr. Chamberlaine to Mr. Winwood, finds that felicity in the hunting life, that he hath written

* Secret Hist. Court of King James, v. i. p. 195.

to the council, that it is the only means to maintain his health, which being the health and welfare of us all, he desires them to take the charge and burden of affairs, and perceive that he be not interrupted nor troubled with too much business.”*

Our author, whose eye is upon every characteristic trait in his prototypes, has glanced another of James's imbecilities in conduct, at the occasion of Margaret Ramsay's marriage with Lord G. The childishness of the monarch on this festivity is not an invented flight, but an actual exhibition of his behaviour whenever a hymeneal connection was celebrated under his auspices, or between his favourites. Winwood has presented us with an instance of his fooleries when Philip Herbert, afterwards Earl of Montgomery, was married to his first lady, which reflects equal gradation on the second Solomon and his senseless courtiers. “There was no small merriment that night in chains and jewels; and many great ladies were made shorter by the skirts. He presents of plate and other things given

* Winwood, vol. ii. p. 46.

by the noblemen were valued at two thousand five hundred pounds ; but that which made it a good marriage was a gift of the king's, of five hundred pounds land, for the bride's jointure. They were lodged in the council chamber ; where the king, in his shirt and night gown, gave them a *reveillée matin* before they were up, and spent a good time in, or upon, the bed, choose which you will believe. No ceremony was omitted of bride-cakes, points, garters, and gloves, which have been ever since the livery of the court ; and at night there was sewing into the sheet, casting of the bride's left hose, with many other petty sorceries."*

But we must confess, (with some feelings of shame for the hierarchy of James's reign,) that this servility of spirit, which could accommodate itself to such base and ignoble conduct in the monarch, was not peculiar to the secular courtiers. The majority of the bishops were equally ductile, if we may credit a variety of anecdotes which record their complaisance. One may suffice.

* Ib. page 43.

On the day of the dissolution of the last parliament of King James I. Mr. Waller, out of curiosity or respect, went to see the king at dinner, with whom were Doctor Andrews, the bishop of Winchester, and Doctor Neal, bishop of Durham, standing behind his Majesty's chair. There happened something very extraordinary in the conversation those prelates had with the king ; on which Mr. Waller did often reflect. His Majesty asked the bishops, ' My lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament ? ' The Bishop of Durham readily answered, ' G—d forbid, Sir, but you should ; *you are the breath of our nostrils.*' Whereupon the king turned, and said to the Bishop of Winchester, ' Well, my lord, what say you ? ' ' Sir,' replied the bishop, ' I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases.' The king answered, ' No put-offs, my lord ; answer me presently.' ' Then, Sir,' said he, ' I think it is lawful to take my brother Neal's money, for he offers it.' Mr. Waller said, the company was pleased with this answer, and the wit of it seemed to

affect the king.”* It must be acknowledged, however, that the English prelacy owed much to James, for his civility to their order ; for he sacrificed, in their behalf, his consistency, veracity, and honour. In 1590, addressing the general assembly of Scotland, standing up “ with his bonnet off, he praised God that he was born in such a time as in the time of the light of the gospel ; to such a place as to be king of such a kirk—the sincerest kirk in the world. The kirk of Geneva keepeth Pasche and Yule,” (Easter and Christmas,) “ what have they for them ? They have no institutions. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their *service is an evil-said mass in English* : they want nothing of the mass but the liftings” (elevation of the host). “ I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same ; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly.” And, in his speech to

* Account of the Life, &c. of Mr. Waller, prefixed to his poems, p. 67, edit. 1710.

the Scotch Parliament in 1598, he re-assured them that he minded not to bring in papistical or Anglican bishops.* Yet, such was the insincerity of this monarch, there is reason to believe that he had even then determined upon the subverting of this (what he asserted to be) *purest of all institutions*, which he charged the people, and so solemnly pledged himself, to maintain; for in his work, entitled *Basilicon Doron*, printed and *clandestinely circulated* a few years afterwards, and which must have cost time in the composition, he contends that "parity among ministers cannot agree with monarchy; that without bishops the three estates cannot be established; that ministers sought to establish a democracy in the land, and to bear the sway of all the government; that by time they hope, by the example of the ecclesiastical policy, to draw the civil to the same parity; that no man is more to be hated of a king than a proud puritan; and that the chief of them are

* Calderwood's Church History of Scotland, page 256, 418.

not to be allowed to brook the land.”* And in the conference at Hampton Court, James asserted, that “the Scotch presbytery agreed with a monarchy, as God and the devil. Then,” said he, “Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council, and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up, and say, It must be thus; then Dick shall reply, and say, Nay, marry, but we will have it thus.” Such was the tergiversation of James in favour of the English church; and such the precious logic, which drew from Archbishop Whitgift the solemn declaration, that, “undoubtedly, his Majesty spake by the special assistance of God’s spirit;” and which compelled Bishop Bancroft, *on his knee*, to protest, that “his heart melted with joy, and made him haste to acknowledge unto Almighty God the singular mercy in giving them such a king, as since Christ’s time the like had not been.”†

* Brodie’s Hist. Brit. Emp. vol. i. introduction, page 396.

† Barlow’s Account of the Conference at Hampton Court, Phoenix, vol. i. page 145.

In short, the game between the prelates and the king, during the whole of James's reign; seems to have been, *I'll tickle you, if you'll tickle me*. Elizabeth had *drilled* them into a spirit of subserviency to the Court, totally inconsistent with that conscientious regard to their office and responsibility, their proper dignity and peculiar duties, which alone can give lustre and utility to their venerable order; and James, however deficient he might be in more dignified points of character, had *cunning* enough to take advantage of a ductility, which he was well aware, if properly fostered, would be signally useful in giving efficacy to the suggestions and plans of his own delectable science of *king-craft*.

There is a document transmitted to us, so characteristic of the general tone of the episcopal bench, in the reign which engages our attention, as well to merit insertion in the present page. It is a letter addressed by Dr. Field, bishop of Llandaff, to Buckingham, when in the plenitude of his power. We shall contrast it with a noble epistle, sent by the honest and independent Bishop Burnet to

Charles the Second. The first will afford an example of a prelate, who had no conscience in any thing; the other of a bishop, who made a conscience of every thing.

“ My gracious good Lord,—In the great library of men that I have studied these many years, your Grace is the best book, and most classic author, that I have read; in whom I find so much goodness, sweetness, and nobleness of nature, such an heroic spirit for boundless bounty, as I never did in any. I could instance in many, some of whom you have made deans, some bishops, some lords, and some privy-counsellors, none that ever looked toward your Grace did ever go away empty. I need go no further than myself, (a scum of the earth,) whom you raised out of the dust, for raising but a thought so high as to serve your Highness. Since that I have not played the truant, but more diligently studied you than ever before; and yet (dunce that I am) I stand at a stay, and am a non-proficient; the book being the same that it ever was, as may appear by the great proficiency of others. This wonderfully poseth

me ; and sure there is some guile, some wile, in some of my fellow students, who hide my book from me, or some part of it. All the fault is not in my own blockishness, that I thrive no better. I once feared this before, that some did me ill offices. Your Grace was pleased to protest that no man had ; and to assure me that no man could. My heart tells me that it hath been always upright, and is still most faithful unto you. I have examined my actions, my words, and my very thoughts, and found all of them, ever since, most sound unto your Grace. Give me leave to comfort myself of recordation of your loving-kindnesses of old, when on that great feast-day of your being inaugurated our chancellor (of Cambridge), my look was your book, wherein you read sadness, to which I was bold to answer, I trusted your Grace would give me no cause. You replied, ' with loss of blood rather.' But God forbid so precious an effusion, (I would rather empty all my veins, than you should bleed one drop,) when as one blast of your breath is able to bring me to the haven where I would be. My lord, I

am grown an old man, and am like old household stuff, apt to be broken upon often removal. I desire it, therefore, but once for all, be it Ely or Bath and Wells; and I will spend the remainder of my days in writing an history of your good deeds to me and others, whereby I may vindicate you from the envy and obloquy of this present wicked age wherein we live, and whilst I live, in praying for your Grace, whose I am totally and finally.

“ THEOPHILUS LANDAVEN.”*

It is some satisfaction to know that such a reptile was disappointed of the expected reward of his degradation. The duke treated his supplication with neglect; nor did Llandaff obtain a translation till the next reign, in 1635: he was then removed to Hereford; but had occupied the see only six months, when death put a period to all his further views.†

Burnet's letter is as follows. It was written, he tells us, in consequence of his attending

* Cabala, page 117.

† Brown Willis's Cathed. vol. i. p. 526.

Mrs. Roberts, one of Charles the Second's mistresses, on her dying bed ; and adds, that he carried the letter himself to Chiffinch, who delivered it to Charles ; that the king read it twice over, and then threw it into the fire.*

" 29th January, 1672.

" May it please your Majesty,—I have not presumed to trouble your Majesty for some months, not having any thing worthy your time to offer ; and now I choose rather this way, since the infinite duty I owe you puts me under restraint in discourse, which I cannot so easily overcome. What I shall now suggest to your Majesty, I do it as in the presence of Almighty God, to whom I know I must give an account of all my actions ; I therefore beg you will be graciously pleased to accept this most faithful zeal of your poor subject, who has no other design in it than your good, and the discharge of his own conscience.

" I must, then, first assure your Majesty, I never discovered any thing like a design.

* Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 507 ; vol. ii. p. 686.

of raising rebellion among all those with whom I converse ; but I shall add, on the other hand, that most people grow sullen, and are highly dissatisfied with you, and distrustful of you. Formerly your ministers, or his Royal Highness, bore the blame of things that were ungrateful ; but now it falls upon yourself, and time, which cures most other distempers, increases this. Your last speech makes many think it will be easy to fetch up petitions from all parts of England. This is now under consultation, and is not yet determined ; but I find so many inclined to promote them, that as far as I can judge, it will go that way. If your Majesty calls a new parliament, it is believed that those who have promoted the petitions will be generally elected ; for the inferior sort of people are much set upon them, and make their judgment of men from their behaviour in that matter. The soberer sort of those who are ill pleased at your conduct, reckon, that either the state of your affairs beyond sea, or of your exchequer at home, will, ere long, necessitate your meeting your parliament, and that then things must

be rectified; and therefore they use their utmost endeavours to keep all quiet. If your Majesty has a session in April, for supporting your allies, I find it is resolved by many, that the money necessary to maintain your alliances shall be put into the hands of commissioners, to issue it as they shall answer to the two Houses; and these will be so chosen, that as it is likely that the persons will be very unacceptable to you, so they being trusted with the money, will be as a council of state to controul all your councils. And as to your exchequer, I do not find any inclination to consider your necessity, unless many things be done to put them into another disposition than I can observe in them. The things that will be demanded will not be of so easy a digestion, as that I can imagine you will ever be brought to them, or, indeed, that it will be reasonable or honourable for you to grant them. So that in this disorder of affairs it is easy to propose difficulties, but not so easy to find out that which may remove them.

“ There is one thing—and, indeed, the only thing—in which all honest men agree, as that

which can easily extricate you out of all your troubles; it is not the change of a minister, or of a council, a new alliance, or a session of parliament, but it is (and suffer me, Sir, to speak it with a more than ordinary earnestness) a change in your own heart, and in your course of life. And now, Sir, if you do not with indignation throw this paper from you, permit me (with all the humility of a subject prostrate at your feet) to tell you, that all the distrust your people have of you, all the necessities you now are under, all the indignation of Heaven that is upon you, and appears in the defeating all your councils, flow from this—that you have {not feared, nor served God ; but have given yourself up to so many sinful pleasures. Your Majesty may, perhaps, justly think, that many of those that oppose you have no regard for religion ; but the body of the people consider it, more than you can imagine. I do not desire your Majesty to put on an hypocritical shew of religion, as Henry the Third of France did, hoping thereby to have weathered the storms of those times. No ! that would soon be seen

through ; and as it would provoke God more, so it would increase jealousies. No, Sir, it must be real, and the evidences of it signal. All those about you who are the occasions of sin, chiefly the women, must be removed, and your Court reformed. Sir, if you will turn you to religion sincerely and seriously, you shall quickly find a serene joy of another nature possess your mind, than what arises from gross pleasures ; God would be at peace with you, and direct and bless all your councils ; all good men would presently turn to you, and ill men would be ashamed, and have a thin party ; for I speak it knowingly, there is nothing has so alienated the body of your people from you, as what they have heard of your life, which disposes them to give an easy belief to all other scandalous reports.

“ Sir, this council is now almost as necessary for your affairs as it is for your soul ; and though you have highly offended that God who has been infinitely merciful to you, in preserving you at Worcester fight, and during your long exile, and who brought you back so miraculously ; yet he is still good and

gracious, and will, upon your sincere repentance and change of life, pardon all your sins, and receive you into his favour. Oh! Sir, what if you should die in the midst of all your sins? At the great tribunal where you must appear, there will be no regard to the crown you now wear; but it will aggravate your punishment, that, being in so eminent a station, you have so much dishonoured God. Sir, I hope you believe there is a God, and a life to come, and that sin shall not pass unpunished. If your Majesty will reflect upon your having now been twenty years upon the throne, and in all that time how little you have glorified God, how much you have provoked him, and that your ill example has drawn so many after you to sin, that men are not now ashamed of their vices, you cannot but think that God is offended with you; and if you consider how ill your councils at home, and your wars abroad, have succeeded, and how much you have lost the hearts of your people; you may reasonably conclude this is of God, who will not turn away his anger from you, till you turn to him with your whole heart.

“I am no enthusiast, either in opinion or temper; yet I acknowledge I have been so pressed in my mind to make this address to you, that I could have no ease till I did it: and, since you were pleased to direct me to send you, through Mr. Chiffinch’s hands, such information as I thought fit to convey to you, I hope your Majesty will not be offended, if I have made this use of that liberty. I am sure I can have no other design in it, but your good; for I know very well this is not a method to serve any ends of my own. I, therefore, throw myself at your feet, and once more, in the name of God, whose servant I am, do most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider of what I have written, and not to despise it for the meanness of the person who has sent it; but to apply yourself to religion in earnest: and I dare assure you of many blessings, temporal and spiritual, in this life; and of eternal glory in the life to come. But if you will go on in your sins, the judgments of God will, probably, pursue you in this life, so that you may be a proverb to after ages; and, after this life, you will be for ever miserable;

and I, your poor subject that now am, shall be a witness against you in the great day, that I gave you this free and faithful warning.

“ Sir, no person alive knows that I have written to you to this purpose ; and I chose this evening, hoping that your exercise to-morrow may put you into a disposition to weigh it more carefully. I hope your Majesty will not be offended with this sincere expression of my duty towards you ; for I durst not have ventured on it, if I had not thought myself bound to it, both by the duty I owe to God, and that which will ever oblige me to be

“ May it please your Majesty, &c.”

Episcopal adulation followed even the shade of the departed James. His funeral sermon was preached at Westminster Abbey, on the 7th of May, by Dr. Williams, lord keeper, and bishop of Lincoln. We must, of course, acquit his lordship of the vain imagination that flattery could “ soothe the dull cold ear of death,” and be compelled, we fear, to attribute his gush of complimentary eloquence entirely to the sordid hope of ingratiating

himself with the son and successor of his former master, already too well disposed to encourage those who preached

“The right divine of kings to govern wrong.”

The Bishop's text was taken from 1 Kings, c. xi. v. 41, 42, 43: “And the rest of the words of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the acts of Solomon? And the time that Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel was forty years. And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father.” The Bishop having repeated his text, goes on as follows: “Most high and mighty, most honourable, worshipful, and well-beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, it is not I, but this woful accident that chuseth this text.” Proceeding to consider the words as applicable to Solomon, in the first place, he afterwards compares the Jewish monarch with the deceased James, “in one general lump or mould,” (as he elegantly expresses it,) “that you may see, by the oddness of the proportions, how they differ from all kings besides.”—After running a parallel

between the two, with respect to all the circumstances of their respective reigns, he compares them as authors: "In his *style* you may observe the *Ecclesiastes*; in his *figures*, the *Canticles*; in his *sentences*, the *Proverbs*; and in his whole discourses, *reliquum verborum Solomonis*, all the rest that was admirable in the eloquence of Solomon. From his sayings I come to his doings: *quæ fecerit*, all that he did. Every action of his sacred Majesty was a virtue, and a miracle to exempt him from any parallel amongst the modern kings and princes. Of all christian kings that ever I read of, he was the most constant patron of churches and churchmen. I will speak it boldly in the presence here of God and men, that I believe in my soul and conscience, there never lived a more constant, resolute, and settled protestant, in point of doctrine, than our late sovereign. Through all Europe no more question was made of his being just, than of his being king. He was resolute enough, and somewhat too forward in those unapproachable places (the Highlands); scattering his enemies so much with his example,

as he did with his forces. Besides these adventures of his person, he was unto his people, to the hour of his death, another cherubim with a flaming sword, to keep out enemies from this paradise of ours.”*

Laud, also, did not hesitate to compromise his dignity, and prostitute his talents, to the same purpose of fulsome adulation. He remarks of James, “that it was little less than a miracle that so much sweetness should be found in so great a heart ; that clemency, mercy, and justice, were eminent in him ; that he was not only a preserver of peace at home, but the great peace-maker abroad ; that he was bountiful, and the greatest patron of the church ; that he was the most learned prince in matters of religion, and most orthodox therein ; that he devoutly received the blessed sacrament, and approved of absolution ; that he called for prayers, was full of penitence at his death, and had his rest in Abraham’s bosom.”†

* Williams’s Sermon, entitled “ Great-Britain’s Solomon,” page 37, *et infra*.

† Rushworth, vol. i. page 156.

A few remarks on a prelate of a very different complexion to either Williams or Laud will be a relief to the mind, sickened with the view of such improper sacrifices at the shrine of flattery or interest. We have already mentioned Bishop Burnet with high respect; and we consider it as scarcely possible to speak in too strong terms of the excellence of his character and conduct, both in public and private life.

There, perhaps, does not exist in English a work of more interest, amusement, or information (as far as its subject ranges) than his "History of his own Times;" and, in defiance of the calumnies which have been levelled against its authenticity, we may venture to pronounce, also, that there never was an English historical work written more in *the spirit of truth* than it. Burnet was certainly credulous, and liable to be deceived or misled; for he was too honest to be suspicious, and too ardent to be severely cautious; but that he meant to deceive or mislead his readers is utterly inconsistent with what we may fairly predicate of his mind, and what we certainly

know of his moral and religious habits. The *bruta fulmina et vana* of Swift* will never

* Swift's venom against Burnet discharged itself in many forms. If any thing could make amends for spleen, ill-nature, and disregard to truth, it might be the wit of the following epigram, which, it is said, the Dean had taken uncommon pains to circulate. The account is, that the lines were written in chalk, upon a tomb-stone in the church-yard of Salisbury cathedral, when Burnet filled that see.

"Here Sarum lies, who was as wise
And learn'd as Tom Aquinas;
Lawn sleeves he wore, yet was no more
A christian than Socinus.

"Oaths, pro and con, he swallow'd down;
Lov'd gold like any layman;
He preach'd and pray'd, and yet betray'd
God's holy church for Mammon.

"If such a soul to heav'n be stole,
And pass'd the devil's clutches,
I do presume there may be room
For Marlbro' and his Dutchess."

The notes, (if they may be so called) of Swift on Burnet's History are, for the most part, of the following laconic and contemptible description. How would the good prelate have smiled at such ebullitions of impotent malice: "Scotch dog! Treacherous villain! Rogue! Canting puppy! Silly fop!

shake a single stone in the fair fabric of the bishop's fame; for abuse must not be imposed on us in lieu of argument: and the less offensive strictures of Lord Dartmouth, and other prejudiced writers, on "the History," should not only be received *cum grano salis*, as coming from *partisans*, but even if allowed their utmost latitude, will be found not to impeach the prelate with the moral turpitude of *unfaithfulness*, but merely with the universal infirmity of *mistake*. The man, indeed, who could commence and close his work with the solemn declarations which he has ventured to utter, ought not to be suspected of insincerity, or even partiality, unless his life had been a tissue of deceits and hypocrisies. "I do solemnly say this to the world," he declares, "and make my humble appeal upon it to the great God of truth, that I tell the truth on all occasions as fully and freely as upon my best inquiry I have been able to find it out.

False and scandalous! False and spiteful! False as hell!" But the Dean, with all his pre-eminent intellectual powers, was by no means deficient in virulence and scurrility, uncharitableness and impiety!

Where things appear doubtful, I deliver them with the same uncertainty to the world. And now, O my God, the God of my life, and of all my mercies, I offer this work to thee, to whose honour it is chiefly intended, that thereby I may awaken the world to just reflections on their own errors and follies, and call on them to acknowledge thy providence, to adore it, and ever to depend upon it." And the opening of his "Conclusion" is in a similar strain of affecting solemnity. "I have now set out the state of affairs for above half a century, with all the care and attention that I was capable of. I have enquired into all matters among us, and have observed them, during the course of my life, with a particular application and impartiality. And I may presume, that the observations I have made, and the account that I have given, will gain me so much credit, that I may speak with a plain freedom to all sorts of persons. This not being to be published till after I am dead, when envy, jealousy, or hatred, will be buried with me in my grave, I may hope that what I am now to offer to succeeding ages may be

better heard, and less censured, than any thing I could offer to the present. So that this is a sort of testament or dying speech which I leave behind me, to be read and considered when I can speak no more. I do most earnestly beg of God to direct me in it, and to give it such an effect on the minds of those who read it, that I may do more good when dead, than I could ever hope to do while I was alive.”* But after all, the best guarantee to posterity for the bishop’s sincerity, fidelity, and integrity, as an author, was his holy, upright, and exemplary life as a christian. Never was there a mitre more honoured by the dignified character of the prelate who wore it, than that which covered the head of Bishop Burnet. His whole behaviour was a practical commentary on the religion which he professed—pure, devout, sincere, beneficent, charitable, liberal, painstaking, and useful. As a parochial minister in Scotland, and a lecturer in England, he was ever zealous, conscientious, independent, disinterested, and indefatigable in the fulfilment

of the charges which he successively undertook ; and in the management of a diocese, he afforded a living exposition of St. Paul's character of a christian bishop. The force and effect of his eloquence as a preacher, both before and after his elevation to the bench, seem to have been quite extraordinary. " Sir John Jekyll," says Speaker Onslow, in his notes, " told me he was present at Bishop Burnet's sermon against popery, preached at the end of Charles the Second's reign, (I think it was this,) and that when the author had reached out the hour-glass, he took it up, and held it aloft in his hand, and then turned it up for another hour ; upon which the audience (a very large one for the place) set up almost a shout for joy. I once heard him preach," continues he, " at the Temple church, on the subject of popery ; it was on the fast-day for the negociation of the peace at Utrecht. He set forth all the horrors of that religion with such force of speech and action, (for he had much of that in his preaching, and action at all times,) that I have never seen an audience any where so much affected, as we all were

who were present at that discourse. He preached then, as he generally did, without notes. He was in his exterior, too, the finest figure I ever saw in a pulpit." Nor was the exertion of his great rhetorical powers called forth by public occasions merely. Burnet had no wish to shine; his preaching was not directed *ad captandum*, or to "purchase to himself a better degree," for in his own family worship he manifested the same anxiety to be impressive and improving. Speaking of the lectures which he was accustomed to deliver to his household every Sunday evening, Onslow says, his lecture this night "was upon the new heavens and the new earth, after the general conflagration. He first read to us the chapter in St. Peter, where this is described; then enlarged upon it with that force of imagination, and solemnity of speech and manner, (the subject suiting his genius,) as to make this remembrance of it affect me extremely even now, although it is nearly forty years ago since I heard it. I remember it the more, because I never heard a preacher equal to him. There was an earnestness of heart, and

voice, and look, that is scarcely to be conceived, as it is not the fashion of the present times ; and by the want of which, as much as any thing, religion is every day failing with us." Equally attractive, if less striking than his public conduct, was his domestic life. How beautiful is this picture of his engagements at home ! " His time, the only treasure of which he seemed covetous, was employed in one regular, uniform manner. His constant health permitted him to be an early riser ; he was seldom in bed later than five o'clock in the morning during the summer, or than six in the winter. Private meditation took up the two first hours and the last half-hour of the day. His first and last appearance to his family was at the morning and evening prayers ; which were always read by himself, though his chaplains were present. He drank his tea in company with his children, and took that opportunity of instructing them in religion ; he went through the old and new testaments with them three times, giving his own comment upon some portion of it for an hour every morning. When this was over, he

retired to his study, where he seldom spent less than six, often more than eight, hours in a day. The rest of his time was taken up with business, exercise, and necessary rest, or bestowed on friendly visits and cheerful meals. As he kept an open table, where was plenty without luxury, so no man was more pleased with innocent mirth there, no man encouraged it more, or had a larger fund of entertainment to contribute towards it. His equipage, like his table, was decent and plain; and all his expenses denoted a temper generous, but not profuse. The episcopal palace, when he came to Salisbury, was thought one of the worst; and when he died was one of the best, in England.”*

Is it to be believed that *such* a man as this could be the willing organ of “a lying spirit,” the literary pander of a party, or the deliberate historic deceiver? Improbable; incredible; impossible. That Burnet’s warmth of feeling (for his sensibilities were strong) might have led him, occasionally, to

* Thos. Burnet’s *Life of Bishop Burnet*, vol. ii. page 721, fol. ed. Lond. 1734.

adopt, and be satisfied with, a too hasty and superficial view of passing events, is not, perhaps, to be denied; and may well account for the inaccuracies which are alleged against him, and imputed to a more unworthy cause; but we are much inclined to think, that, in proportion as the bishop's History is compared with the accounts of contemporary writers, and original unpublished documents referring to the affairs of his own times, even his suspected mis-statements will be found to be facts, and the general authenticity of his work corroborated and established. Mr. Fox has well illustrated this remark in vindicating the bishop from the charge of a false statement, in his mention of the proceedings in the House of Commons on the king's speech, of 19th May, 1685. "It will be found, as well in this as in many other instances," says he, after comparing Burnet's and Barillon's accounts of the same transaction, "that an unfortunate inattention, on the part of the reverend historian, to forms, has made his veracity unjustly called in question. He speaks of Seymour's speech, as if it had been

a *motion* in the *technical* sense of the word, for enquiring into the elections, which had no effect. Now, no traces remaining of such a motion, and, on the other hand, the elections having been at a subsequent period enquired into, Ralph almost pronounces the whole account to be erroneous ; whereas, the only mistake consists in giving the name of *motion* to a suggestion upon the question of a grant. It is whimsical," he adds, " that it should be from the account of the French ambassador that we are enabled to reconcile, to the records, and to the forms of the English House of Commons, a relation made by a distinguished member of the English House of Lords."*

Another instance in which Burnet has very unjustly been accused of deviating from the truth, in order to darken the characters of those from whom he politically differed, may be as easily explained and vindicated. The bishop asserts, that the king (Charles II.) had ordered Montague, his ambassador at Paris, in 1678, " to find out an astrologer, of whom it was no wonder he had a good opinion,

* Hist. of Reign of James II. p. 141.

for he had, long before his restoration, foretold he should enter London on the 29th of May, 1660. He was yet alive; and Montague found him, and saw he was capable of being corrupted. So he resolved to prompt him to send the king such hints as should serve his own ends; and he was so bewitched with the Dutchess of Cleveland, (who was quite cast off by the king, and was then at Paris,) that he trusted her with the secret. But she, growing jealous of a new amour, took all the ways she could think to ruin him, reserving this of the astrologer for her last shift. And by it she compassed her ends; for Montague was entirely lost upon it with the king, and came over without being recalled.”* This singular story, which certainly has much the air, if not of invention, at least of exaggeration, is, however, fully confirmed, and in a remarkable manner, by an original letter from the Dutchess of Cleveland to Charles the Second, still in existence, dated Paris, Tuesday 28th, 1678, which contains the following passage:

* Harris, vol. i. page 422.

“ When I was come over,” says she, “ he (Montague) brought me two letters to bring to you, which he read both to me, before he sealed them. The one was a man’s, that, he said, you had great faith in ; for that he had, at several times, foretold things to you, that were of consequence ; and that you believed him in all things, like a changeling as you were ; and that now he had wrote you word, that, in a few months, the King of France and his son were threatened with death, or at least with a great fit of sickness, in which they would be in great danger, if they did not die ; and that, therefore, he counselled you to defer any resolutions, either of war or peace, till some months were past ; for that, if this happened, it would make a great change in France. The ambassador, after he had read this to me, said, Now the good of this is, said he, that I can do what I will with this man ; for he is poor, and a good sum of money will make him write whatever I will. So he proposed to me, that he and I should join together in the ruin of my Lord Treasurer and the Dutchess of Portsmouth ; which

might be done thus : the man, though he was infirm and ill, should go into England, and there, after having been a little time, to solicit you for money ; for that you were so base, that, though you employed him, you let him starve, so that he was obliged to give him fifty pounds, and that the man had writ several times to you for money. And, says he, when he is in England, he shall tell the king things that he foresees will infallibly ruin him ; and so wish those to be removed, as having an ill star, that would be unfortunate to you if they were not removed ; but if that were done, he was confident you would have the most glorious reign that ever was. This, says he, I am sure I can order so as to bring to a good effect, if you will.”*

The same vividness of thought, and hastiness of judgment, which sometimes led the bishop to mistaken conclusions in his literary compositions, marked his conversation also ; and more than once placed both himself and those he was conversing with, in the most

* Harris's Historical and Critical Life of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 393, appendix.

embarrassing situation. The late Professor Porson was accustomed to relate the following anecdote. When Prince Eugene was in England, in Queen Anne's reign, Burnet was very anxious to be personally known to him. A speedy opportunity occurred for the accomplishment of his wish ; but the party who effected it entreated the bishop to be particularly guarded in his remarks, that nothing might fall from him which could give the prince the slightest offence. Burnet promised to be particularly cautious. The conversation turned on political and historical events. The bishop related a circumstance which excited some curiosity as to its particular date; he was desired to specify the precise period of its occurrence. After a moment's silence, he replied, " I cannot exactly recollect the year, but it was that in which *the Dutchess of Savoy was sent to the Bastile.*" This very lady happened to be the *mother* of Prince Eugene.

On a more public occasion than this the bishop's absence of mind, or want of due premeditation before he delivered his sentiments, produced a very awkward feeling in the speaker

and his auditors. The infamous Sacheverell, in his infamous sermon on "Perils from false Brethren," had furiously attacked Lord Godolphin, under the name of *Volpone*. In the debate in the House of Lords on the subject of this discourse, Burnet made a glowing speech; in the course of it he affirmed that this audacious libeller had cast the most scandalous reflections on his Majesty's ministers, and that he had, in particular, drawn the portrait of a noble peer, then present, (Lord Godolphin,) *in colours so lively, and had so plainly pointed him out by a vile and scurrilous epithet, that it was impossible to mistake in making the application.* This unintentional sarcasm on the lord treasurer somewhat discomposed the House; and, in violation of dignity and decorum, the bishop was loudly called upon to name him, which, in the fervour of his zeal, and in the wanderings of that mental absence, for which he was remarkable, he might, perhaps, have done, had not the lord chancellor interposed.*

* Belsham's History of Queen Anne, vol. ii. page 523.

But these and such like failings were merely spots upon the disk of the sun; and many an age may pass away, without producing a character more universally exemplary than that of the English episcopal historian.*

In tracing "the ways of Providence," as far as human infirmity will permit us to detect them, it is a source of admiration and comfort to observe, that all its operations have, for their ultimate object, the well-being of its creatures; that it is ever

"Educing out of seeming evil, good ;

and making present calamity the parent of future blessing. The wilderness always leads to the promised land, if the pilgrim be content to pursue the path marked out by Heaven for his progress; and improvement naturally grows out of trial, both to the individual, and to collective bodies of men, when the heart

* The Clarendon press has recently obliged the public with an octavo edition of Burnet's "History of his own Times," headed by an excellent preface by the venerable Dr. Routh, in a style which reflects the greatest credit on the sagacity, impartiality, and liberality of its learned author.

is duly impressed by the visitation. The calamities which befel the English hierarchy in the seventeenth century, were not more severe and afflictive, than their consequences were salutary, to those who were "exercised thereby." Our prelates, perhaps, never shone with greater lustre than when they were enduring the rebukes, and rage, and persecutions, of their ruthless enemies; nor evinced more sanctity and zeal in their professional functions, or more independence and greatness of mind in their public and political conduct, than in the age immediately succeeding their "fiery trial." The sordid, interested, and secular principles, which, in former times, disgraced so many of the order, had been purged away in the furnace of persecution; and in their room had sprung up those generous and enlightened sentiments which dignified the character of a Burnet; actuated Sancroft and the six bishops to resist the reading of the declaration in the reign of James II.; and which, (in the persons of many individuals of the bench,) on several occasions since that period, operating

boldly or wisely for the public good, have conferred a lasting honour on the episcopal order of the ENGLISH CHURCH.

Most of the sermons delivered by English dignitaries, on public or state occasions, in King James's time, breathe the same spirit of gross adulation to the court, with the funeral discourse of the Lord-Keeper. The preachers seem to have forgotten entirely the place they were in, and the duty in which they were engaged. Not so had it been with his Majesty in Scotland, before he acquired his English sceptre. The ministers suspected him of a predilection for Papacy, and they boldly avowed their suspicions.* Their language, indeed, was harsh and unseemly ; but, however deficient in good manners, they certainly could not be charged with the meanness of hypocrisy. Long since, however, have the Scotch ministry redeemed their credit in this respect, and acquired all the spirit of christian meekness, without losing the warm zeal and honest simplicity of their original character.

* Spotswood, p. 354, 417, 423, 430.

Their schoolmaster in Protestantism, the celebrated Knox, was a sincere, but austere, one; and it was natural, that they should imbibe, and for some time retain, the bluntness of their leader, and that their hearers should acquire the sombre complexion of the earlier Genevan Church: but this is now all softened down into a becoming gravity in the clerical character, and in an exemplary reverence for every thing connected with religion, in those among whom they exercise their functions. Nothing could more clearly prove the present respectable character of the "Scotch Kirk," or more impressively display the dignity of its ministers, and the sobriety of its members, than an occurrence which took place during his present Majesty's visit to Edinburgh, in the year 1822. The king, with excellent judgment, had notified his intention to attend the celebration of the worship of the SCOTCH ESTABLISHED CHURCH, at the High Kirk of Edinburgh. Proper preparations were accordingly made for his reception: a long and gorgeous procession, meet for the solemn occasion, accompanied the sovereign

to and from the place of worship ; and Edinburgh poured out its thousands, and the neighbouring country contributed all its population, to swell the throng, which such an interesting sight would necessarily bring together. No alteration, however, was affected in the regular service of the Kirk ; nor did the minister, the moderator Lamont, in his able, argumentative, and practical sermon, make the slightest allusion to the august personage who was present, or to the peculiar circumstances of this memorable Sabbath. Whilst the minister felt the holiness of the *place* to be paramount to every earthly consideration ; the populace seemed to be equally impressed with the solemnity of the *day*. All was simple solemnity within the church, and decency and sobriety without its walls ; and, notwithstanding the fullness of the congregation, and the immensity of the crowd, not the most trifling disturbance was attempted, nor any noisy expression of feeling heard, to interrupt those quiet associations, which the house of God, and his holy Sabbath, ought ever to inspire. The whole scene was calcu-

ated to make a deep impression on the fine feeling, and correct taste, of his Majesty. In fact, it *did* make such an impression on the royal mind, as the King himself declared would never be obliterated.

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

The late Lord Orford tells us, somewhere in his agreeable miscellaneous volumes, that when his father, Sir Robert Walpole, happened to be confined by the gout, it was frequently his office to amuse the invalid by reading to him; but that he always objected to his son's opening a volume of *modern history*, as he considered works of this class little better than issues of misstatements or mistakes. It does not, however, require the shrewdness or experience of the old hacknied prime minister, to bring a reader of common research, and sober reflection, to nearly the same conclusion. The discrepancies in the various relations of

the same facts, which he will meet with at every step of his enquiries; the discordant motives which he will find attributed to the same moral agents in these transactions; the carelessness which he will detect in some of the narrators of them; and the prejudices or party spirit which will appear to have warped the mind, or dimmed the intellectual vision, of others, will soon convince him, that he must not place an implicit reliance on historic statements; that, in many cases, he has not even the shadow of reality to recompense his investigations; and that, in almost all, he must be content to accept of a distant resemblance, in the room of a veritable representation, of actual occurrences. But, by no department of historical composition are we more disappointed in our hope of reposing comfortably in the conviction of truth, than by its *biography*; the delineation of characters who have taken an active part, or made a prominent figure, in the public transactions of the recorded epoch. Contemporary writers, influenced by the prevalent feelings of their day, naturally enough, throw a tone of colouring over their moral

portraits, harmonizing, not with the real object to be represented, but with their own conceptions of its beauty or deformity. They may be honest enough not to invent or omit facts, nor to assign principles of action to the subjects of their memoirs, which they do not conscientiously believe them to have been influenced by ; but the whole picture will be so deeply tinged with their own partialities, or dislikes, that it can afford no fair or satisfactory image of the real character intended to be handed down to posterity. The remark applies particularly to the English historians and memorialists of the seventeenth century ; when every writer, being a partisan, those strong feelings which had been excited in him by the interesting events passing without doors, operating in the retirement of the study, and insinuating themselves into the pages on which he was employed, have occasioned such a discordance in the various accounts of the character and conduct of the identical individual, as to leave the modern reader quite in doubt whether he should regard him with esteem or disgust. The real

character of the Duke of Buckingham is a *crux criticorum* of this description. Were we to accept him as he is imaged by Sir Henry Wotton, he would stand before us a pattern of all that is great and good, "a rare example of temperance and sobriety," "the most glorious star that ever shined in any court," and "to his last never losing any of his lustre"—a man wanting no "privie coat, but (which he never put off) a good conscience;" whom "the same Providence that conveyed him into grace would not suffer to fall, but by such a fate as may determine all the monarchies in the world;" and "whose memory shall have a reverend favour with all posterity and all nations."* On the other hand, if we are to credit the accounts of contemporary writers of an opposite complexion in politics to Sir Henry, nothing could be more vile or odious than the mind, principles, and habits of this powerful favourite;

* Sir Henry Wotton's exquisite "Parallel and Disparity;" *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, London, 1654, duod. That Clarendon and Eachard should echo the same eulogies, was the natural consequence of their political feelings.

a man who had nothing to recommend him but a fine person, fashionable accomplishments, and specious manners; “a lord tall of stature, and amiable of countenance; but who, like a ravenous kite, engrossed all into his hands, to enrich and advance his kindred, and to place and displace whom he listed;” who “dispatched the Duke of Richmond, Marquis Hamilton, the Earl of Southampton and his son, by poison,” as well as Dr. Eggleston, his instrument, “for discovering the villany;” whose love to his master being “turned into hatred, he made no bones to send him packing to another world, as appeared plainly in parliament by the witness of divers physicians;” a monster of unchastity, to which his royal master condescended to be the pander;† and who, by extortion and speculation, notwithstanding his enormous extravagance, had accumulated, at the time of his murder, a property of three hundred thousand pounds in

* Peyton’s *Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stuart*; *Secret Hist. of Court of James I.*, v. ii. p. 360.

† In the cases of Miss Crofts and Mrs. Dorothy Gawdy. *Ib.*; also Wilson, p. 149.

jewels, and built up a landed estate of four thousand pounds per annum, upon his original slender life annuity of thirty pounds.* Amid these contradictory representations of the Duke of Buckingham, it seems but equitable that we should adopt a middle opinion, and consider him as a mixed character, much "below the good," "but far above" some "of the great;" as a man occasionally surprised by certain original worthy principles into meritorious conduct, but whose general career received its colouring from strong passion, inordinate ambition, and the enjoyment of uncontrouled power.

The liberality, or rather prodigality, of Buckingham has never been questioned. He was bountiful to his friends, profuse in his expenses, gorgeous in his attire, and sumptuous in his stile of living; qualities which are always regarded, by the generality of mankind, in the light of virtues, and conciliate a wider esteem than many other better points of character. His popularity, for a time, was, consequently, extensive: nor did he fail to keep

* Ibid, 358.

alive the impression which he awakened in the vulgar mind, by every imposing act of personal ostentation. His equipage was the first which appeared in England, drawn by *six horses*. No man wore so vast a treasure of jewels on his garments as himself; and his town mansion, York House, was so splendidly furnished, as to excite the astonishment of the French ambassador, Bassompierre,* who had himself been ruined by the extravagant decorations of his own residence at Chaillot. It was here that Buckingham exercised the invention and taste of Sir Balthazar Gerbier (his domestic painter) in planning and executing the allegorical feasts, masques, and revels, with which he was wont to entertain, *both* his infatuated masters, the lords and ladies of their court, and all the foreign diplomats; such as the one described by Bassompierre, which he declares was "the most magnificent entertainment he had ever seen in

* Towards night, I went to see the Duke of Buckingham at his residence called Jorschaux, which is extremely fine, and was more richly fitted up than any other I saw.—Embassy, p. 24.

his life." "The king supped," says he, "at one table with the queen and me, which was served by a complete *ballet*" (persons in fancy dresses) "at each course, with sundry representations—changes of scenery, table, and music: the Duke waited on the king at table, the Earl of Carlisle on the queen, and the Earl of Holland on me. After supper, the king and we were led into another room, where the assembly was, and one entered it by a kind of turnstile, as in convents, without any confusion, where there was a magnificent *ballet*, in which the duke danced; and afterwards we set to, and danced country-dances till four in the morning: thence we were shewn into vaulted apartments, where there were five different collations."*

* Embassy p. 96. The indefatigable industry of Mr. D'Israeli has discovered an original letter in the British Museum with a few more particulars of this expensive treat. "Last Sunday, at night, the Duke's grace entertained their Majesties and the French Ambassador at York House, with great feasting and shew, where *all things came down in clouds* (from the ceiling); amongst which, one rare device was a representation of the French king and the two queens, with their chiefest attendants, and so to the life, that

But Buckingham, amid all his pomp, authority, greatness, and apparent enjoyment, seems to have paid the tax of favouritism, and been a prey to fears and doubts as to the continuance of his prosperity. It was this secret working of a mind ill at ease, that rendered him a dupe to the popular superstition of his time; and led him to seek intimations of what his destiny threatened, and of the means by which he might avert its omens, by the light of *judicial astrology*. Nothing can be more strongly opposed than his general loftiness of mien and pride of character, with his firm belief in the truth of "the occult philosophy," and his abject attention to the divinations of the crafty impostors, or ignorant empirics, who at that time swarmed throughout Europe, more especially in England, under the auspices of the Royal dæmonologist. Of the character and fate of two of these singular

the Queen's Majesty could name them: it was four o'clock in the morning before they parted, and then the king and queen, together with the French ambassador, lodged there. Some estimate this entertainment at five or six thousand pounds.—Cur. Lit. vol. iii. page 384

cheats, who were high in the Duke of Buckingham's confidence, Lamb and Butler, we have the following account in Wilson.†

“ Dr. Lamb, a man of an infamous conversation, (having been arraigned for a witch, and found guilty of it at Worcester, and arraigned for a rape, and found guilty of it at the King's-Bench bar at Westminster, yet escaped the stroke of justice for both, by his favour in court,) was much employed by the mother and son,” (the duke and his mother,) “ which generally the people took notice of, and were so incensed against Lamb, that finding him in the streets of London, in the year 1628, they rose against him, and with stones and staves knocked out his brains.

“ And besides Lamb, there was one Butler, an Irishman, (which vaunted himself to be of the house of Ormond,) who was a kind of mountebank, which the duke and his mother much confided in. This Butler was first an apprentice to a cutler in London, and, before his time expired, quitted his master, having a cunning head, and went to the Bermudas,

* Life of James I. in Comp. Hist. Eng. p. 791.

ere he lived some time as a servant in the
und; and walking by the sea-side, with
other of his companions, they found a great
ss of ambergris, that the sea's bounty had
t up to them, which they willingly con-
ded, meaning to make their best markets of

Butler being a subtle snap, wrought so
ch his companion with promises of a share,
it he got possession of it; and in the next
itch ship that arrived at the Bermudas, he
pped himself and his commodities for
nsterdam; where having sold his bargain
a good rate, and made his credit with his
low venturer cheap enough, engrossing all
himself, he came into England; lived in a
llant and noble equipage; kept a great and
e table at his lodgings in the Strand, which
re furnished suitable to his mind; and had
; coach with six horses, and many footmen
ending on him, with as much state and
andeur as if his greatness had been real.
it though his means lasted not to support
is long, yet it brought him into great
quaintance; and being pragmatical in tongue,
d having an active pate, he fell to some dis-

tillations, and other odd extracting practices, which kept him afloat; and some men thought he had gotten the long-dreamed-after philosopher's stone; but the best recipe he had to maintain his greatness, after his amber money fumed and vapoured away, was suspected to come from his *friends at Whitehall*; and the story of his death, if it be true, is one great evidence of some secret machination between the duke and him, that the duke was willing to be rid of him; for mischief being an engrosser, is unsure and unsatisfied when their wares are to be vended in many shops. Therefore he was recommended, upon some plausible occasion, by the duke's means, (as fame delivered it,) to some Jesuits beyond the seas, where he was entertained with a great deal of specious ceremony and respect, in one of their colleges or cloisters; and at night, they attending him with much civility, the chamber being hanged with tapestry, and tapers burning in stretched-out arms upon the walls; and when they gave him the good-night, they told him they would send one who should direct him to his lodging, and they were no

sooner out of this room of death, but the floor, that hung upon great hinges on one side, was let fall by artificial engines, and the poor vermin, Butler, dropped into a precipice, where he was never more heard of.”*

But however favourable the predictions of these same “learned Thebans” might be to the wishes of the duke for permanent power and confirmed prosperity, the decree had gone forth that should belie them all, and number this minion of fortune with the many other impressive instances of the instability of mortal greatness, so finely imaged by the poet of human nature:

“ This is the state of man ; to-day he puts forth
The tender leaves of hope ; to-morrow blossoms,
And bears his blushing honours thick upon him ;
The third day comes a frost, a killing frost,
And when he thinks, good easy man, full sure
His greatness is a ripening, nips his root,
And then he falls.”

He was now, at the early age of thirty-six, the Right High and Right Mighty Prince, George Villiers, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Bucking-

* Wilson's Life of King James, p. 791.

ham ; Earl of Coventry ; Viscount Villiers ; Baron of Waddon ; lord high admiral of England, Ireland, and the principality of Wales ; governor of all the castles, and sea forts, and of the royal navy ; master of the horse to his Majesty ; lord warden, chancellor, and admiral of the cinque ports, and the members thereof ; constable of the castle of Dover ; justice in eyre of all his Majesty's forests, parks, and chases, on this side the Trent ; constable of the royal castle of Windsor ; gentleman of the king's bedchamber ; counsellor of estate of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland ; knight of the most noble Order of the Garter ; lord president of the council of war ; chancellor of the university of Cambridge ; and lord general of his Majesty's forces in the Isle of Rhee ;* had taken the command of the fleet and army at Portsmouth, and was, probably, anticipating a revenge at Rochelle for his disgrace at the Isle of Rhee, when " a blow, as fearful as strange, from a poor tenpenny knife of Felton's, setting

* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 278.

home," as Welldon expresses it,† unexpectedly laid himself and all his honours in the dust. The duke, on receiving the wound, seized the hilt of his sword, exclaiming, "God's wounds! the villain hath killed me." Being conveyed into an apartment, and laid upon a table, he pulled the knife out of his side, struggled with death for a quarter of an hour, breathed out his spirit,

"And left a name, at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

Felton, the assassin of the duke, was a lieutenant of infantry, who had served under his Grace at the Isle of Rhee, and conceived a mortal hatred against him, because the duke refused him the captaincy of the company, when its commander was killed in that unfortunate expedition. There seems to have been a predisposition to insanity in his constitution, which was developed by this and other disappointments. Though it is not improbable that the dark cast of his religious feelings might have furnished motives, also, to the atrocious

† Court of King Charles, p. 46, 48.

deed. He was a gloomy enthusiast; and Buckingham having abandoned the puritans, and associated himself with Laud, in consequence of his quarrel with Dr. Preston, the head of the puritan party;* Felton might conceive that he was doing God service, by removing from the world so powerful an enemy of what, in his opinion, was the only true system of faith and discipline. The murderer was hung in chains at Portsmouth.

GEORGE HERIOT.

One of the most respectable personages in the novel of Nigel is George Heriot, or, as his Majesty (who delighted in imposing nicknames on his friends) was pleased to denominate him, "*gingling Geordie*," King James's goldsmith; and what renders the character

* In Mr. D'Israeli's new series of *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. iii. page 347, is a very entertaining article on this subject, entitled, "Buckingham's Political Coquetry with the Puritans."

the more interesting is—the assurance that it has been copied from an equally amiable original. He was born in Edinburgh in 1563; carried on his lucrative trade in that city till James's accession to the throne of England; followed his master to his new kingdom; settled in London; and died rich, beloved, respected, and honoured, at the age of sixty-one, at his house in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, in the month of February, 1624. The large fortune which he accumulated during life, and so nobly disposed of at his death, was the necessary result of active industry, and steady prudence, operating, through a long course of business, in a trade at that time peculiarly gainful. The splendid discovery and conquest of the regions of gold and silver in the West, at the close of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth centuries, and the facilities of a trade with India, another world of gems and ingots, offered to adventurous spirits by the bold voyage of Vasco de Gama round the Cape of Good Hope, had thrown into Europe such a vast mass of bullion, as quickly rendered the dealers and manu-

business in these rich articles one of the most important branches of commerce in the kingdom. Long previously to this period, indeed, the guildsmen of London had been an incorporated body. Edward the Third had granted them privileges, and Richard the Second had encouraged them with a charter; but as the activity of trade must depend on the quantity of the article in the market, there was not as yet a sufficiency of gold and silver introduced into the kingdom to afford the means of rapid or enormous fortunes to those who dealt in this precious ware.* The spirit of commerce and adventure, however, so ardent in the reign of Elizabeth, quickly availed itself of all the advantages to be derived from the new world,

* The Goldsmiths, though not as yet swollen into the affluence of their successors in the trade, seem to have been very tenacious of their dignity. A strong dispute occurred between them and the *Fishmongers Company*, in the fourteenth century, for *precedency*; and in a prior age they fought a desperate conflict with the *Tailors*, in which many were slain on both sides, for the same important object:

“Tantane animis coelestibus iræ!”

Stowe's Survey, b. v. p. 106, 184.

and the more accessible eastern regions of the old one: the trade of the goldsmith rose into an importance, and was crowned with a success, hitherto unknown; and its followers, whose domestic habits, and rules of prudence, were rather more favourable to accumulation than the modes and principles of modern mercantile life; and who, for a time, were the bankers of the great, and supplied their expenses by large and profitable loans; were enabled, after a few years of attention to business, not only to leave, on their demise, competent fortunes to their immediate surviving relatives, but to dedicate, to the use of posterity, munificent institutions for the healing of the sick, the succour of the poor, and the instruction of the ignorant.* Such was the laudable conduct of George

* The late amiable Mr. Pennant was collaterally descended in the eighth degree from William Pennant, the goldsmith, who, at his house, the Queen's Head, in Smithfield, acquired a considerable fortune, in the latter end of Elizabeth's, and the beginning of James the First's, reign. It appears by his will, dated May 4th, 1607, that he was employed by the court, for many legacies are to the royal servants. His

Heriot: at his death he amply provided for all his kindred; and left the remainder of his wealth to "the ordinary Town Council of Edinburgh," to "found and

charity to the poor of Whiteford, Flintshire, clothes, at this time, twenty poor people.—London, p. 177. The business of goldsmiths was confined to the buying and selling of the precious metals, and foreign coins of gold and silver, melting them, coining others at the Mint, and manufacturing articles of plate. The *banking* was accidental, and foreign to their original business, and arose from the general opinion of their good faith and responsibility. They were afterwards, for many years, the bankers of the capital.

Regular banking by private people resulted in 1643, from the calamity of the time, when the seditious spirit was in action. The merchants and traders who trusted their cash to their servants and apprentices, found this mode to be no longer a safe one; neither did they dare to leave it in the Mint at the Tower, by reason of the distress of Majesty. In the year 1645, therefore, they began to place it in the hands of goldsmiths, who now publicly exercised both professions. The first regular banker was Mr. Francis Child, goldsmith, who began business soon after the Restoration. He married, in 1665 or 67, Martha, the only daughter of Robert Blanchard, goldsmith, and had twelve children. He was afterwards knighted; and lived in Fleet-street, where his shop still remains. His books are preserved by the family.

erect, within the said town, in perpetuity, an hospital, to be employed for the maintenance, relief, bringing up, and educating, of so many poor fatherless boys, freemen's sons, of the town of Edinburgh, as the means which he gave" would afford.* Heriot's directions were honourably, and conscientiously, fulfilled; and Edinburgh boasts, among its many other fair pretensions to celebrity, a magnificent and commodious fabric for the education, provision, and settlement in life, of one hundred and eighty fatherless boys; the noble endowment of "gingling Geordie," the goldsmith of James the First.

ARCHIBALD ARMSTRONG, OR ARCHY.

The King's Jester.

Among the many disadvantages which the *royal state* is doomed to experience, through the wise arrangements of that Providence

* See Memoirs of George Heriot, Edinburgh, 1822, for an ample account of this excellent charity.

which equalizes the happiness of the different conditions of mankind, by subtracting from the pleasures of the higher classes, and opening additional sources of enjoyment to the lower ones, it is not the least, that those of kingly degree are generally dead to the perception of gratification from the common amusements of life, and the innocent enjoyments which invariably enliven and delight the unpalled taste of the subordinate ranks. The very command with which power, elevation, and wealth invest them, over every species of pleasure, and every modification of luxury, renders both luxury and pleasure insipid to them. The constant repetition of the same routine of diversions, instead of inspiring satisfaction, wearies and disgusts their minds :

“The toiling pleasure sickens into pain :”

And those gratifications, which, when they are of rare occurrence, exhilarate the heart, and animate the countenance; bring “no gale of pleasure on their wing,” to the unfortunate great who reiterate them every day.

We are much mistaken, if we may not account, upon this principle, for the origin of

a singular office, instituted, in very remote times, in almost every court of Europe, and among the rest, in that of England,—the office of king's jester ; which seems to have grown out of the *ennui* that is the lot of royalty, and to have been invented for the solace of those whom common and natural modes of amusement cannot divert. Privileged by his character to say and do almost whatever his fancy prompted, the merry *jester*, the adroit *fool*, or the cunning *dwarf*, equally interrupted the monotony, and relieved the dulness, of the courtly routine; and, in the hours of quiet and indulgence, when the perplexities of politics, or the operations of warfare, ceased to occupy the royal attention, the *fun* afforded by this quaint character was, perhaps, the most satisfactory amusement which our earlier kings enjoyed. His antics would enliven, because they were unexpected; his sallies would divert, for they were novel and original; and his witticisms, the suggestions of the moment, applying to present persons and occasions, and seasoned with ridicule or satire, would have a risible effect, which even apathy could not

resist. Be this, however, as it may; whatever occasioned the introduction of such an office into the *red-book* of former times, it is not to be questioned, that the king's jester was an appendage to the royal establishment, in our own country, as far back as the Anglo-Saxon period; and that he enjoyed considerable emoluments in right of his situation. In that venerable national record, Domesday-Book, we find the mention of *Berdic*, the *joculator regis*, or jester of Edward the Confessor; who is recorded as not only possessing three villages and three plough-lands (each of one hundred acres) in Gloucestershire, but, also, as being exempted from all geld, tax, or payment to the crown, for the same:* and, from various incidental notices in our successive early historians, we have full authority to believe, that a similar facetious officer formed an adjunct to the English court, as far down as the commencement of the seventeenth century. Archy the Jester, mentioned by the author of *Nigel*, and the subject of the pre-

* Fol. 162, Col. 1, Gloucesterscire; *Berdic joculator regis habet 3 villas et ibi 3 car. nil redd.*

sent article, (if he did not close the list of this race of idlers,) was the last but one who enjoyed the office.* The times, indeed, became too serious to admit of further *playing the fool*; and Archy, carrying the joke too far with a personage not given either to the laughing or “the melting mood,” lived to repent of his ill-timed wit in disgrace and rustication. We may collect a few particulars of his history and fate, from Whitlocke, Howel, and other writers.

Archee, or Archibald, Armstrong was born at Arthwick, in the county of Cumberland. When, or by what means, he was introduced to royal notice does not appear; but it is certain that he was held in great esteem by James, and contributed to the amusement of the court in the reign of his son and successor, Charles the First. He seems, however, to have had more of the *Momus* than the *Mercury* in him—a considerable degree of wit and humour, but little cunning or discretion;

* The office was supposed to have terminated with him, till the publication of the Stafford papers; by which it appears that he was succeeded by Muckle John.—Vol. ii. page 154.

and, in consequence of this deficiency in the arts of a court life, he more than once brought his person into jeopardy during the season of his popularity, and at length lost the royal favour, and was degraded from his rank of prince of fools.

Osborne tells us, that he was once tossed in a blanket by Prince Henry's attendants, for drawing King James's attention (by one of his witticisms) to the large retinue which followed the young prince: and being permitted, at his own request, to say grace at dinner, when Laud was present, (whom he heartily hated,) he risked the following joke, which cost him dear, and nearly handed him over to the star-chamber, "Great praise be given to G—d, and little Laud to the devil." But experience was thrown away upon Archee, who could never resist the pleasure of *cutting up* the object of his dislike.

"At this time," says Rushworth, "news came from Scotland, that the king's proclamation, dated 19th of February, published at Striveling the beginning of March, wherein his Majesty declares that he ordained the

Book of Common Prayer to be compiled for the edification of the king's subjects in Scotland, and to maintain the true religion already professed there.

“ And it so happened, that on the 11th of the said March, that Archibald, the king's fool, said to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, as he was going to the council-table, ‘ Wha's feull now ? Doth not your Grace hear the news from Striveling about the liturgy ?’ with other words of reflection. This was presently complained of to the council, which produced this ensuing order :

“ *At Whitehall, the 11th March, 1637.*

“ It is this day ordered by his Majesty, with the advice of the board, that Archibald Armstrong, the king's fool, for certain scandalous words of a high nature, spoken by him against the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his grace, and proved to be uttered by him by two witnesses, shall have his coat pulled over his head, and be discharged of the king's service, and banished the court ; for which the lord chamberlain of the king's household is

prayed and required to give order to be executed. And immediately the same was put in execution.”*

Thus stripped at once of his coat and calling, Archee retired to his native parish in Cumberland, and, we may hope, dedicated the remainder of his days to something more useful and creditable than the gibes and tricks of a jack pudding.

Charles, who, when Prince of Wales, evinced a much greater turn for the *bagatelle* than in after life, amused himself often with the facetious sayings of Archee; and put him *upon his staff* in his romantic expedition to Spain. The following anecdote determines the fact.

“Our cousin Archy has more privilege than any, for he often goes, with his fool’s coat, where the *infanta* is with her *meninas* and ladies of honour; and keeps a blowing and blustering among them, and flurts out what he lists.

“One day they (the Spaniards) were discoursing what a marvellous thing it was

* Rushworth’s *Histor. Collect.* vol. ii. page 470.

the Duke of Bavaria, with less than
 en thousand men, after a long and toil-
 e march, should dare to encounter the
 grave's army, (King James's son-in-law,)
 sisting of above twenty-five thousand, and
 give them an utter discomfiture, and take
 gue immediately after. Whereunto Archy
 vered, that he would tell them a stranger
 g'than that. 'Was it not a strange thing,'
 th he, 'that, in the year 88, there should
 ie a fleet of one hundred and forty sail
 n Spain to England, and that ten of these
 ld not come back to tell what became of
 rest?' '*

DAVY RAMSEY

hom our author makes to be the father of
 imaginary Margaret) was a real character,
 had the honour of being clock-maker to
 g James the First. His occupation led
 , necessarily, into an intimacy with the

* Howel's Letters, page 136.

heavenly bodies; and no man could form such a friendship in the seventeenth century, and not run the risk of becoming a firm believer in supernatural agency. That honest David was *bitten*, we may collect from the following anecdote, told by Lilly the astrologer.

“Davy Ramsey,” says he, “his Majesty’s clock-maker, had been informed that there was a great quantity of treasure buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey; he acquaints Dean Williams therewith, who was also then bishop of London; the dean gave him liberty to search after it, with this proviso, that if any was discovered, his church should have a share of it. Davy Ramsey finds out one John Scott, who pretended the use of the Mosaical rods, to assist him herein: I was desired to join with him, unto which I consented. One winter’s night, Davy Ramsey, with several gentlemen, myself, and Scott, entered the cloisters; we played the hazel rod round about the cloisters; upon the west side of the cloisters the rods turned one over another, an argument that the treasure was there. The labourers digged at least six

fest deep, and then we met with a coffin ;
but in regard it was not heavy, we did not
open it, which we afterwards much repented.*
From the cloisters we went into the Abbey
church ; where, upon a sudden, (there being
no wind when we began,) so fierce, so high,
so blustering, and loud a wind did rise, that
we verily believed the west end of the church
would have fallen upon us ; our rods would not
move at all ; the candles and torches, all but
one, were extinguished, or burned very dimly.
John Scott, my partner, was amazed, looked
pale, knew not what to think or do, until I
gave directions and command to dismiss the
dæmon ; which when done, all was quiet
again, and each man returned into his lodg-
ings late, about twelve o'clock at night. I
could never since be induced to join with any
in such-like actions.

“ The true miscarriage of the business
was by reason of so many people being pre-
sent at the operation ; for there were above
thirty, some laughing, others deriding us ;

* David Ramsay brought an half-quartern sack to
put the treasure in.

so that if we had not dismissed the dæmons, I believe most part of the Abbey Church had been blown down: secrecy, and intelligent operators, with a strong confidence and knowledge of what they are doing, are best for this work.”*

* Lilly's Hist. of his Life and Times, p. 72.

Miscellaneous Illustrations.

LONDON IN THE TIME OF JAMES I.

Could any grave and goodly citizen of the English Metropolis, in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, revisit, in the present day, the place of his former abode, (*married*, as it has since been, to Westminster and Southwark,) it certainly would be a most difficult matter to persuade him, that he again trod on the spot which he had quitted two hundred years ago. Fashions, indeed, change with every successive age ; and cities improve and expand with the progress of civilization, and the increase of national wealth ; but the map of men and things now spread before him would be so completely different to, and so

immeasurably extended beyond, that which had been wont to meet his eye, as must necessarily lead him to the same conclusion with which the *little woman*, in the old song, terminated her reasoning on her own identity:

“Oh! says the little woman, this is none of I!”

To say nothing of the *odd figures* by which this staid and sober personage would find himself to be surrounded,—men clad in swallow-tailed coats, instead of ample doublets; heads covered with hats, instead of flat caps, or conical bonnets; necks embraced by close cravats, in the room of strutting ruffs; and chins naked as the palm of the hand, which were formerly hidden by a forest of beard—his mind would be altogether overwhelmed, by a population swollen from three hundred thousand to a million and a quarter, and filling up a circumferential line of twenty-seven miles—by a countless succession of streets, where, in his day, the ox fattened, or the waters stagnated—by granite bridges, half-a-mile in length; and cupolas and steeples, three hundred feet in height—by groups of splendid

fabrics, thrown into all the various forms of Euclid's diagrams, squares and thombs, and curves and parallels—and by long lines of stately mansions, the residences of untitled subjects, compared with which, the palaces of his cotemporary princes and nobles were little better than incommodious hovels. Soon, however, as he had recovered from the unspeakable surprise, occasioned by a scene so vast and new, and had leisure to look round for his old haunts, and to bring to mind his former habits; it is much to be questioned, whether he would consider himself as remunerated by this magnitude of place, and novelty in appearances, for what London had been in his own good old times. He would in vain search for his Tabarde hostelries, and Boar's-head taverns, pouring out their "rich canary," and "sugared sack"—for the social ordinary, steaming with "larded capon," piping-hot dishes of "leathern coats, and the crab laid upon the fire"*—for the morning lounge in

* See the oldest drinking song in the English language, introduced into "Gammer Gurton's Needle," published in 1551, Dodsley's Old Plays. It begins,

"I cannot eat but little meat, my stomach is not good."

“Paul’s,” the resort of newsmongers, knaves, and dandies—for the afternoon amusements of the bear-gardens, the feats of bruin, or the antics of “outlandish beasts”—for the archery-grounds, where he strung his muscles by “shooting at the buttes”—and, for the *fifteen theatres*, open to the population of London, in which he might alternately, like “laughter holding both his sides,” give vent to the impulse of honest mirth in convulsive roars, or indulge in what has been called, (but strange must be the epicure who deems it so,) “the luxury of grief.” To a venerable cockney of the olden time thus circumstanced, disappointed in his enquiries after the places, and customs, and enjoyments, with which he had been so familiar, and despairing of the return of what was gone for ever, it would be no small satisfaction to meet with such a volume as “*The Fortunes of Nigel* ;” where, as in a well-executed Panorama, he would again behold the spot of his ancient dwelling, laid down with all the accuracy of a good survey ; and all its concomitants of manners, sports, and costume, exhibited with a vividness, which,

for a moment, might "lap" him in his former "elysium."

It was not till long after the exit of this, our imaginary citizen, indeed, that London changed, materially, in the appearance which it had worn for ages; for, previously to the great fire which consumed so large a portion of it in 1666, no encouragement had been held out by our monarchs for its improvement; and, even then, its re-edification, and not its extension, was directed. The noble and the great, till the sixteenth century, lived almost entirely at their castles or mansions in the country, among their tenants and retainers. The policy of this system is obvious. These adherents formed the basis of their personal power and respectability; and it was only by closely cementing the interest of this body with their own, that the superstructure of their independence and dignity could be supported. They occasionally visited the metropolis, indeed, to attend a parliament, or renew their oath of allegiance; but, disliking the restraint of a court life, and the deprivation of their rural sports, which it involved, they

quickly hastened from its trammels, to rural liberty, and the authority which they exercised at home; and made their own estates their permanent abodes. The English monarchs, also, were, for the most part, equally anxious that the nobles should not crowd to the seat of their regal power. They wished this important place to be under their own immediate protection, that they might possess its exclusive adherence; a policy suggested by the earlier history of the country, which taught them how dangerous it was to encourage the grouping together of such haughty and intriguing spirits, as the English nobility then were. Scattered and separated, they might, individually, be restrained, soothed, or overcome; but to grapple with them, when accumulated into one point, would, possibly, be more than they could hope to effect. Hence it was, that, from the settlement of the kingdom, under Henry VII., to the reign of James II., (with the exception of Henry VIII., whose taste for revelry, pomp, and wassail, induced him to crowd his court with the splendid and the gay,) all our English princes discountenanced the residence of the rich and

the great in London; and threw every possible obstacle in the way of the increase of the city or its inhabitants. Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1580, issued her proclamation, that "all manner of persons, of what quality soever they be, shall desist and forbear from any new buildings of any house or tenement within three miles from any of the gates of the said city of London—and also to forbear from letting or setting, or suffering any more families than one only to be placed or to inhabit from henceforth in any one house that heretofore hath been inhabited."* James I. adopted the same policy with his predecessor, of discouraging the resort of the gentry to London; but gave a reason for his dislike to such a practice, which, we must confess, was ingenious, if not convincing, as it made his objection appear to arise from a regard to his subjects' interest, rather than his own. "Gentlemen resident on their estates," (said he,) "are like ships in port, their value and magnitude are felt and acknowledged; but when at a distance, as their size seems insig-

* Noorthouck, p. 135, 810.

nificant, so their worth and importance are not duly estimated." Charles I. followed his example, but adopted more severe measures to enforce his orders: newly-erected houses were pulled down, and many *indictments* were actually filed against "those swarms of gentry," (as his father had described them,) "who, through *the instigations of their wives*, or to new-model and fashion their daughters, (*who, if they were unmarried, marred their reputations, and if married, lost them,*) did neglect their country hospitality, and cumber the city, and become a general nuisance to the kingdom." One, among many, of these victims to the terrors of the star-chamber, Mr. Palmer, a Sussex gentleman, was brought before its dreadful tribunal, for quitting the country and residing in London, in defiance of the royal proclamation. His income of one thousand pounds per annum was of sufficient magnitude, one hundred and ninety years ago, to render him a profitable object of star-chamber persecution. In vain he urged, that he had the misfortune to be a bachelor, with no inducement to a settled, and no tie to

a domestic life; and (what was still a better reason for not living on his estate) that the family mansion, had, two years before, fallen a victim to the flames: his plea was disregarded, his guilt established, and a fine of one thousand pounds imposed upon him, as the punishment of his disobedience to the proclamation.*

Cromwell, also, in whom one might have expected more political wisdom, if not more liberal views, adopted the same narrow-minded notions and practice. Notwithstanding the numerous proclamations and orders which had been issued by former princes against building, upon new foundations, in the city of London, and from *three to ten miles* around it, yet many persons had ventured to act contrary to them. Upon which, "to punish the disobedient, and prevent such practice in the future, an ordinance was made by Cromwell, whereby all persons who had erected houses in contempt of the said prohibitions, since *the 25th of March, 1620*, should, for every such house,

* D'Israeli's Cur. Lit. second series, v. iii. p. 177, at infra.

not having four acres of land thereunto belonging, pay to the Protector one year's rent; and for every house erected after the 29th of September, 1656, without land as aforesaid, forfeit one hundred pounds for the use of the Protector.*

"It is, perhaps, difficult," observes Mr. D'Israeli, "to assign the cause of this marked anxiety of the government for the severe restrictions of the limits of the metropolis, and the prosecution of the nobility and gentry to compel a residence on their estates. Whatever were the motives, however, they were not peculiar to the existing sovereign, but remained transmitted from cabinet to cabinet; and were even renewed under Charles the Second. At a time when the plague often broke out, a close and growing metropolis might have been considered to be a great evil, since a manuscript writer" (quoted by this most agreeable and indefatigable literary enquirer) "urges, as one objection against this deluge of buildings, that, we shall all be poisoned by breathing in one another's faces.

* Maitland's Hist. Lond. v. i. p. 422.

But it is possible," concludes Mr. D'Israeli, "that the government might have been induced to pursue this singular conduct (for I do not know that it can be paralleled) of pulling down newly built houses, by some principle of political economy, which remains to be explained, or ridiculed, by modern adepts."*

Towards the close of Charles the Second's reign, the injunctions against town residence, and the restrictions on building in the metropolis, as they had been long disregarded, or evaded, were laid aside; and the factious and political intrigues of the short succeeding reign, and the violences, struggles, and terrors of a falling dynasty, rendered the seat of the court the great scene of bustle and focus of attraction. London teemed with partisans, agents, or expectants, in the important political drama which was unfolding itself; its limits were extended, and its accommodations increased. A spirit of speculation crept gradually upon its inhabitants, which was developed in the erection of new houses, and in the improving of old ones. Speedily came the

* D'Israeli, *ut sup.* 188.

glorious Revolution, which confirmed and perpetuated this spirit, brought life and activity on its wings, and gave a powerful spring to the character of the nation. New channels were laid open for the investment and circulation of money; the arts were converted into sources of profit, and that system of adorning the capital became regular and permanent in its operation, which has resulted in the production of a metropolis, not to be equalled by any other in the modern world, for the vastness of its dimensions, the magnificence of its general appearance, and the splendour and elegance, neatness and comfort, of its individual mansions.

As it is the fate, however, of old things, not only to be swallowed up by new ones, but also to be forgotten in the absorption; so there were many features of London in former times, which have long since disappeared from its surface, and are now to be discovered only in the works of our chroniclers, or in the writings of such a diligent investigator into our later antiquities as the author of "*Nigel*." The particular mention of a few of these charac-

teristics of the metropolis, about the period of James the First, will form an appropriate illustration of this agreeable story.

It is evident, as we have before remarked, that our author originally intended to make a further use of his *London apprentices* than he has thought proper to do. Their early and spirited introduction promises a frequent and active appearance on the stage; but we are disappointed in such an expectation. After a few chapters their interest is lost; and before the conclusion of the work their name and memory are almost extinguished. Merged and unnoticed as this description of youths at present are, in the immensity of a London population; and looked down upon, as their condition will be in that sickly state of society, when nothing below the liberal professions is considered as *genteel*; (strange and ominous, this, in a country entirely supported by its manufactures, trade, and commerce!) the *London apprentices*, in former times, were a body (compared with the residents) so large in number, respectable in station, and formidable in power, as to be

regarded alternately with confidence or alarm, even by the constituted authorities themselves.* In the political convulsions which occasionally shook the kingdom, they usually took an active part, as far as the capital was concerned; and in the frequent "risings of the city," as these metropolitan disturbances were called, the term always designated the tumultuous operations of the *London apprentices*.

On the eve of the 1st of May, 1517, (called from the circumstance the *evil May-day*,) a terrible tumult took place in London among this class of its inhabitants. A sermon had been preached by one Dr. Bell against the foreign artificers, who at that time were crowding into the metropolis, which declared that "this land was given to Englishmen ;

* Charles the Second did not consider it as beneath his policy to conciliate the favour of the city apprentices. They enjoyed the privilege of an annual feast; and to grace this anniversary, which occurred on the 4th of August, he sent, in 1681, a brace of bucks for their dinner at Sadlers' Hall; where several of his courtiers dined with them, and his natural son, the Duke of Grafton, officiated as one of the stewards.

—Noorthouck's Hist. of London, page 248.

and as birds defend their nests, so ought Englishmen to cherish and maintain themselves, and to hurt and grieve aliens, for respect of their commonwealth." This was sufficient to set the apprentices in a flame. The next day, the 28th of April, they assaulted all the foreigners whom they met; and on the eve of May-day, rushing through the streets, and vociferating *Prentices! Prentices! Clubs! Clubs!* broke open shops, plundered property, dismantled houses, and committed all the violences of a furious, misguided mob.*

Again, in the year 1586, a plan for a general insurrection of the same class against all foreigners, but more especially those of the French nation, had been organised, and was ripe for execution; when, happily, the intention transpired, and, by judicious measures, was prevented from being carried into execution.†

About the year 1595, on a Sunday, (as Stowe tells us,) a dangerous quarrel happened about the liberties of the Tower; for

* Maitland's Hist. London, p. 224. † Ib. p. 271.

the apprentices took occasion to make an insurrection, and held their rendezvous near or within those liberties.* They had taken offence, it seems, at the wardens of the Tower; whom they furiously assaulted, and obliged to seek for safety in a precipitate flight.†

During the distractions of the reign of Charles the First, the London apprentices deeply imbibed the popular feeling. Highly incensed against Laud, and his arbitrary principles and proceedings, they determined to sacrifice him to their vengeance. They accordingly attacked the archiepiscopal palace during the night, in the month of May, 1640; and, had not previous notice enabled Laud effectually to secure his residence, would, probably, have accomplished their murderous design.‡

In the succeeding year, they beset the the Spanish ambassador's house, in Bishopsgate-street, threatening to pull it down, and to kill the ambassador, for permitting English papists to frequent his chapel. The riot was

* Survey Book, vol. i. page 65.

† Maitland, p. 278.

‡ Ib. p. 320.

with difficulty appeased, through the discretion of the mayor.*

In 1642, we again find the London apprentices engaged in political tumult, and vociferating the cry of "No bishops! no bishops! no popish lords!" "One David Hyde, a reformed officer of the late army employed against the Scots, and now designed for Ireland, accompanied by divers of his brethren, cavaliers, observing what passed, greatly enraged at their insolent deportment, threatened to cut the throats of those *round-headed* dogs who bawled against the bishops; whence arose the appellation of *round-head* and *cavalier*, by which the anti-prelatical and royal parties were distinguished during the course of these troubles."†

This same active body of youths assumed a more pacific character in 1647; and, dividing into two opposite factions, the one espousing the royal, the other the parliamentary, side of the question, expressed, in two separate petitions, the former addressed to the Lords, and the latter to the Commons,

* Maitland, p. 358.

† Ib. p. 359.

their different sentiments and wishes on the critical situation of public affairs;* and, in the latter end of the year 1659, when the citizens were stunned with the ominous appearance of the political horizon, the apprentices did what their masters durst not do—openly expressed their dislike to the existing government; rose in arms against the Committee of Safety; boldly demanded a free parliament; and gallantly encountered (though with the loss of many lives) Colonel Hewson, and his regular forces, who was sent by the committee to chastise their audacity.†

We shall the less wonder at the bold and independent conduct which this formidable crew of youths were apt to manifest, when we recollect that anciently they were all, or for the most part, of “gentle degree.” “I read, in the *Liber Albus*,” says Stowe, “that none was made apprentice, or at least admitted into the freedom of the city, unless he were *liberæ conditionis*, that is, of the *quality of a gentleman born*. And that, if, after he was made free, it was known that he was of servile

* Ib. p. 396.

† Ib. p. 422.

condition, he lost his freedom; and about the year 1386 or 1387, Nicholas Exton, mayor, this order was confirmed, that no apprentice should be taken, no freedom given, but to such as were *gentlemen born*.* With a natural foresight that this *drop of good blood* might ever and anon ferment in the veins of the apprentices, and occasion ebullitions of insubordinate conduct, (if they were not reminded by their exterior appearance of their temporary servile condition,) the wise authorities of the city of London issued, from time to time, very wholesome regulations respecting their dress and their duties. Of these particulars John Stowe, and his augmentator, John Strype, give us the following account.

“The ancient habit of the apprentices of London was a flat round cap, hair cut close, narrow falling bands, coarse side coats, close hose, cloth stockings, and other such *severe apparel*.” It was in derision of this covering of the head, that “the pages of the court called them *flat caps*.”

* Stowe, book v. p. 328.

“ When apprentices and journeymen attended upon their masters and mistresses in the night, they went before them carrying a lanthorn and candle in their hands, and a great long club on their necks. And many well-grown sturdy apprentices used to wear long daggers in the day-time, on their backs or sides.

“ It was also the general use and custom of all apprentices in London (*merciers* only excepted, being commonly merchants, and of better rank, as it seems) to carry water-tankards, to serve their masters with water, fetched either from the Thames, or the common conduits of London.”

To these observances in costume and conduct, were added the following specific directions, or instructions, to the apprentices, in the twenty-eighth year of Henry the Eighth.

“ Ye shall constantly and devoutly, on your knees, every day serve God, morning and evening; and make conscience in the due hearing of the word preached, and endeavour the right practice thereof in your life and conversation. You shall do diligent and

faithful service to your master for the time of your apprenticeship, and shall deal truly in what you shall be trusted. You shall often read over the covenants of your indenture, and see and endeavour yourself to perform the same, to the uttermost of your power. You shall avoid all evil company, and all occasions which may tend to draw you to the same; and make speedy return, when you shall be sent of your master's and mistress's business. You shall be of fair, gentle, and lowly speech and behaviour towards all men, and especially to all your governors. And according to your carriage expect your reward, for good or for ill, from God and your friends."

It seems, however, that all these precautions were insufficient to prevent the latent germ of gentility from developing itself in an imitation of the *dashers* of the day. The apprentices would not sit down contented with their *severe apparel*, and a painful restriction from fashionable sports and accomplishments; but towards the middle of Elizabeth's reign had so far forgotten the nature of their situation, as "to affect to go in costly apparel, and

wear weapons, and frequent schools of dancing, fencing, and music ;” abominations which awakened the attention and alarm of the Common Council, who in May, 1582, issued the following *remarkable* (as Mr. Strype calls it) proclamation.

“ BY THE MAYOR.

“ Whereas of late time servants and apprentices within this city are, by indulgence and lack of convenient severity, grown to great enormity and disorder in excess of apparel, and the fashions thereof, uncomely for their calling ; and in haunting of inconvenient places and exercises, to the great waste of their own thrift, corruption of manners, maintenance of pride and disobedience, and manifest occasion of untrue dealing towards their masters and friends, and great slander of this city and the governance thereof ; for redress hereof, be it enacted and ordained by the lord mayor, and the aldermen his brethren, and this present common council assembled, and by the authority of the same, that there shall be uniformity used, and no difference appointed,

of the apparel of apprentices in this city for one company above another, in the forms or fashions hereafter expressed.

“ Also, that no apprentice shall, within the liberties of this city, wear any *hat*, but only a *woollen cap*, such as his master shall give or appoint him, having not in any wise any silk in or about the same. Provided alway, that he may wear a *hat* (without any silk in or about it) in his journey going out of the city, or returning from out of the liberties of the city home. And that he shall not wear any night-cap of silk, or mingled with any silk.

“ Also, that no apprentice shall wear any shirt with any ruffs, either at neck or at hand, (other than a ruff at the neck only, not exceeding in length a yard and a half at the most,) nor with any cost of needlework, other than plain white seam and hemming, and plain standing band, tied with plain strings; nor any loose collar, ruffs, or cuffs, of other fashion.

“ Also, that no apprentice shall wear any doublet other than of canvass, fustian, sackcloth, leather, or woollen cloth; and of those

sorts no Spanish or foreign leather; nor cut, nor ruffed, other than a plain edge of the same about it; nor striped, in the weaving, with silk or metal; nor garnished, nor mingled with any other stuff, nor with any silk, or lace, or stitching, or silk buttons.

“ Also, that no apprentice shall wear in his hose any other stuff than woollen cloth, kersey, such canvass or sackcloth as is before allowed for doublets, or leather dressed in England; and no leather but in breeches only.

“ Also, that no apprentice shall wear in his hose any cloth or kersey of any colour other than white, russet, sheep’s colour, blue, or watched.

“ Also, that no apprentice shall wear any breeches made great, but in most plain manner, and close, or a small plain slope; and with no other lining than close to the leg for strengthening of the hose; and not otherwise stuffed or filled with any thing; and without any stitching, lace, garde, welt, or other garnishing; nor any points, other than of leather or thread.

“ Also, that no apprentice shall wear any coat, cassock, or such upper garment, other than a plain coat, jacket, or jerkin, of cloth, or English leather dressed in England, and not cut, stitched, printed, welted, or garded, other than an edge of the same about it ; nor any silk or cruel in or about it.

“ Also, that no apprentice shall wear any outermost garment, other than a gown of cloth, of the usual fashion of apprentices’ gowns ; and not lined or faced with any other than woollen cloth, cotton, or bays, black, or of the colour of the outside ; or else a plain cloak, with a round standing collar only, and reaching down to the knee at the least. And that such gown or cloak shall not be welted or garded, nor have any silk or cruel in lace, stitching, or otherwise, in or about it ; nor otherwise lined or faced than is aforesaid for the gown.

“ Also, that no apprentice shall wear any ring or jewel of gold or silver, nor any silk in or about any part of his apparel.

“ Also, that no apprentice shall wear any pumps, nor pantofles ; nor shall wear any

shoes garnished with cutting, edging, or stitching, nor other than of usual English neats' leather, or calves' leather, and no foreign stuff or dressing. Nor any girdles nor garters other than cruel, woollen, thread, or leather; and that plain, without garnishing.

“Also, that no apprentice shall, within the liberties of this city, other than in his journey going out of the said liberties, or coming home, by his master's appointment, or in the watch, wear any sword, dagger, or other weapon, than convenient meat-knives.”

The first offence against these ordinances to be punished at the “discretion of his master;” the second, by “open whipping at the hall of his company;” and the third, by “six months longer than his years as an apprentice.”

“Also, that every apprentice which shall be in any dancing-school, or school of fence, or school or place of learning of instruments; or learn or use dancing or masking; or which shall, without his master's knowledge, have any chest, press, or other place, to lay up or keep any apparel or goods, saving only in his

master's house, or by his master's license and appointment; shall, upon proof, be punished" as aforesaid.

" Provided alway, that this act, for so much as concerneth resorting to schools or places of learning of instruments, or dancing, or apparel, shall not extend to any apprentice of the company of *minstrels*, learning, teaching, or using the same faculty as his lawful art.

" Given at the said city, the 21st May, 1582.

" God save the Queen."*

The passions and propensities of human nature are the same in all ages, in every climate, and under every condition of social union; and however the modes of their manifestation may differ, according to the situation of the individual, or the degree of common civilization, the impulses themselves are still in constant operation; for ever, and with

* Stowe's Survey, book v. page 328.

uniform force, actuating the moral agent in the pursuit and promotion of his real or imaginary well-being. As a proof of the truth of this remark, adapted to our present purpose, we may mention the passion for *gaming*; which, whether it be identical with the desire of *appropriation*, (as seems to be the case in the state of civilization,) or be founded in a wish to escape from that painful dulness and vacuity of mind, which is the necessary concomitant of savage life, has been a prevalent feature of human manners from the earliest ages of the world; and is at this moment to be discovered among every people upon the face of the earth. Unfortunately for the honour and happiness of our own country, this vice has ever been incorporated with our national character; and though the good sense and moral feeling of the legislature have, of late years, strenuously discountenanced its public and barefaced indulgence, (so that no horrid scenes of legalized gaming are to be witnessed among us, as on the continent,) yet if the secret history of our fashionable clubs could be perused, or the transactions in the snug

little rooms behind the bars of our pot-houses be developed, we should find, it is to be feared, the passion for play still operating as powerfully upon the very high and the very low classes of the English nation, as it has ever done in the country heretofore, or is at this moment doing in any other kingdom of the world.

It was not always, however, that *public gaming* was an act contrary to the ordinances of the punitive law in England. Not only the petty and cautious play of Lord Glenvarlock at the public *ordinary*, (which, by the bye, almost stamps the peer with the character of a *black legs*, and would, unquestionably, have occasioned his being kicked out of the room at Brooks's,) but the high stakes of Buckingham* or Delgarno were sanctioned by the

* The love of play seems to have been a sort of heir-loom attached to the *title* of *Duke* of Buckingham. The friend and victim of Richard the Third was notorious for his expensiveness, of which this destructive habit formed a feature. The Dukes of Buckingham, father and son, in the reigns of James the First and Charles the Second, followed the same practice; and John Sheffield, duke of Buckingham,

express permission of the royal authority, in the reign of James the First. The English Solomon had conceived a mortal dread of the Puritans and their sober manners; and as fear is always associated with a detestation of its object in the mind of a coward, he “hated both with the most perfect hatred.” It was upon this principle that he laid the axe to the root of public religion, morality, and decency, by a proclamation, in 1617, authorising, or

in King William’s time, (though no relation to the Villiers’ family,) was one of the most notorious gamblers of his day. In a letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury he describes his manner of living, (see “London and its Environs;”) “but,” says Mr. Pennant, “he has omitted his constant visits to the noted *gaming-house* at Marybone, the place of assemblage of all the infamous sharpers of the time. His Grace always gave them a dinner at the conclusion of the season; and his parting toast was, ‘May as many of us as remain unchanged next spring, meet here again.’ I remember,” adds Mr. Pennant, “the facetious Quin telling this story at Bath, within the hearing of Lord Chesterfield, when his lordship was surrounded by a crowd of worthies of the same stamp with the above. Lady Mary W. Montague alludes to the amusements of the duke in this line, ‘Some dukes at Marybone bowl time away.’—London, p. 270.

rather enjoining, the practice of all common pastimes and diversions on the *sabbath-day*; and drew up and circulated his "Book of Sports," which pointed out what these amusements should be, and incited his subjects to indulge in their enjoyment. This precious code was directed to be read to the congregations, in the churches, by their several ministers; and (what puts the seal to James's folly, as well as infamy,) when many of these conscientious men declined to disgrace their calling, by assisting to open such a floodgate of madness and impiety upon the people, the profligate tyrant pursued them with all the rigours of the *high commission court*. Nor was this a sufficient deviation from sound policy and good morals for the besotted monarch. His proclamation, in 1617, was intended for the *improvement* of the *whole* kingdom. In 1620, his wisdom dictated another step for the promotion of the *decency* and *sobriety* of the metropolis, and parts adjacent, in particular: this was, to confer a grant upon Clement Cotrel, esq; groom-porter of his household, *to license gaming-houses*,

for cards, dice, bowling-allies, and tennis-courts. The number of these scenes of authorised vice was as follows: in London and Westminster, including the suburbs, twenty-four bowling-allies; in Southwark, four; in St. Catherine's, one; in Shoreditch, one; and in Lambeth, two: every other town, or village, within two miles of London and Westminster, was allowed one. Within these limits, also, fourteen tennis-courts were tolerated; and forty taverns, or *ordinaries*, for *playing at cards or dice*: and the motive upon which the grant rested was declared to be, "for the *honest* and *reasonable* recreation of good and civil people, who, for their quality and ability, may lawfully use the games of bowling, tennis, dice, cards, tables, nine-holes, or any other game hereafter to be invented."*

The scenes in his *ordinary*, exhibited by the author of *Nigel*, are by no means exaggerations of the actual doings of these places of public resort, in the licentious days of James I. In fact they were the privileged

* Noorthouck, p. 151.

temples of vice, sensuality, and desperate deeds, each of them drawing into one focal point that open triumph of diversified wickedness, which we can now detect only in the widely-spread and numerous "hells" of the *Palais Royal*. A writer to whom the public is deeply indebted for his extraordinary diligence in discovering and reviving many a precious relic of lost or forgotten literature, and for the taste and discrimination with which he has again introduced them to notice, furnishes us with an admirable account of the systematic villany, (as far as *gaming* was concerned,) which flourished so luxuriantly in these hot-beds of bold, unblushing crime. We trust we may indulge ourselves and our reader with the extract.*

* D'Israeli's *Cur. of Lit.* v. iii. p. 83. The author whose novels we are illustrating, seems to have derived from this most interesting writer much curious and rare information respecting the old English times and manners, though he has worked it up with exquisite skill for his own various purposes. Amongst other adoptions from the "*Curiosities of Literature*," we cannot doubt that the character of Mr. Hugh Audley has afforded the model for that powerfully-

"The *ordinaries* of those days were the lounging-places of the men of the town, and the "fantastic gallants," who herded together. Ordinaries were "the exchange for news;" the echoing places for all sorts of town-talk: there they might hear of the last new play and poem,

drawn personage, Old Trapbois, the Alsatian usurer, The strong family likeness proves the lineal descent of the latter from the former. Nor is it a caricature resemblance; for nothing could surpass the extravagance of the real usurer. Mr. Audley, it appears, flourished through the reigns of James I. and his son. After having enjoyed for many years a lucrative office in the "court of wards," which he did till the abolition of this iniquitous establishment, he began the world with two hundred pounds in the year 1605, and died worth four hundred thousand pounds in the year 1662; a sum, which, according to the relative value of money, no subject in Europe probably, at present possesses. It was the result of every species of quiet extortion, and every mode of miserly accumulation. One anecdote will be sufficient to shew the genius and the practice of this notable usurer. A draper of no honest reputation being arrested by a merchant for a debt of two hundred pounds, Audley bought the debt at forty pounds, for which the draper immediately offered him fifty pounds. But Audley would not consent, unless the draper indulged a sudden whim of his own: this was a

and the last fresh widow, who was sighing for some knight to make her a lady. These resorts were attended, also, "to save charges of house-keeping." The reign of James I. is characterised by all the wantonness of prodigality among one class, and all the penuriousness and rapacity in another, which met in the dissolute indolence of a peace of twenty years. But a more striking feature in these "ordinaries" shewed itself as soon as the

formal contract, that the draper should pay, within twenty years, upon twenty certain days, a *penny doubled* every month. A knave, in haste to sign, is no calculator; and, as the contemporary dramatist describes one of the arts of those citizens, one part of whose business was

To swear and break: they all grow rich by breaking:

the draper eagerly compounded. He afterwards grew rich. Audley, silently watching his victim, within two years, claimed his doubled pennies every month during twenty months. The pennies had now grown up to pounds. The knave perceived the trick, and preferred paying the forfeiture of his bond for five hundred pounds, rather than to receive the visitation of all the little generation of compound interest in the last descendant of two thousand pounds, which would have closed with the draper's shop."—Curios. of Lit. v. iii. p. 75, edit. 1817.

“voyder had cleared the table :” then began “the shuffling and cutting, on one side ; and the bones rattling, on the other.” The “ordinary,” in fact, was a gambling-house, like those now expressly termed “hells ;” and I doubt if the present “infernoes” equalled the whole diablerie of our ancestors.

“In the former scene of sharpening, (the haunts of the usurers,) they derived their cant terms from a *rabbit warren* ; but in the present, (the ordinaries,) their allusions partly relate to an *aviary*, and truly the proverb suited them, of “birds of a feather.” Those who first proposed to sit down are called *leaders* ; the ruined gamblers are called the *forlorn hope* ; the great winner is the *eagle* ; a stander-by who encourages, by little ventures himself, the freshly imported gallant (who is called the *gull*), is the *woodpecker* ; and a monstrous bird of prey, who is always hovering round the table, is the *gull-groper*, who, at a pinch, is the benevolent Audley of the ordinary.

“There was, besides, one other character of an original cast, apparently the friend of none

of the party, and yet, in fact, the "atlas which supported the ordinary on his shoulders:" he was sometimes significantly called the *impostor*.

"The *gull* is a young man, whose father, a citizen or squire, just dead, leaves him "ten or twelve thousand pounds, in ready money, besides some hundreds a year." Scouts are sent out, and lie in ambush for him: they discover what apothecary's shop he resorts to every morning; or in what tobacco shop, in Fleet-street, he takes a pipe of smoke in the afternoon.* Some sharp wit of the ordinary, a pleasant fellow, whom Robert Green calls the "*taker-up*," one of universal conversation, lures the heir of seven hundred a year to "the ordinary." A *gull* sets the whole aviary in spirits; and Decker well describes the flutter of joy and expectation. "The *leaders* maintain themselves brave; the *forlorn-hope*, that drooped before, doth now gallantly come on; the *eagle* feathers his nest; the *woodpecker* picks up the crumbs;

* The usual resort of the loungers of that day. Wine was then sold at the apothecaries, and tobacco smoked in the shops.

the *gull-groper* grows fat with good feeding; and the *gull* himself, at whom every one has a pull, hath in the end scarce a feather to keep his back warm.

“During the *gull*’s progress through Primero and Gleet, he wants for no admirable advice and solemn warnings from two excellent friends—the *gull-groper*, and at length the *impostor*. The *gull-groper*, who knows to “half an acre” all his means, takes the *gull*, when out of luck, to a side window, and in a whisper talks of “dice being made of women’s bones, which will cousin any man;” but he pours his gold on the board, and a bond is rapturously signed for the next quarter-day. But the *gull-groper*, by a variety of expedients, avoids having the bond duly discharged; he contrives to get a judgment, and a serjeant with his mace procures the forfeiture of his bond, the treble value. But the *impostor* has none of the milkiness of the *gull-groper*. He looks for no favour under heaven from any man; he is bluff with all the ordinary; he spits at random; gingles his spurs into any man’s cloak; and his “humour” is to be a

devil of a dare-all. All fear him as the tyrant they must obey. The tender *gull* trembles, and admires his valour. At length the devil he feared becomes his champion; and the poor *gull*, proud of his intimacy, hides himself under this *eagle's* wings.

“The *impostor* sits close by his elbow; takes a partnership in his game; furnishes the stakes when out of luck; and, in truth, does not care how fast the *gull* loses; for a twirl of his mustachio, a tip of his nose, or a wink of his eye, drives all the losses of the *gull* into the profits of the grand confederacy at the ordinary. And when the *impostor* has fought the *gull's* quarrels many a time, at last he kicks up the table, and the *gull* sinks himself into the class of the *forlorn-hope*; he lives at the mercy of his late friends, the *gull-groper* and the *impostor*, who send him out to lure some tender bird in feather.”*

* There must have been right good living at these ordinaries on very easy terms, when they were supplied with the following excellent articles at their accompanying prices, in 1572:

Among other methods of "killing time" resorted to by the "busy idlers" of King James's day, and particularly mentioned in the novel of Nigel, was the promenade of "POWLES;" or walking to and fro in the nave of the noble cathedral, which, previously to the great fire in 1666, rose in ancient gothic magnificence on the very site of that sublime structure, the present St. Paul's church. It was here that a moral panorama of London presented itself to the eye, during the hours of access to the building. Here were seen, gathered into one motley groupe, all the contrasted characters of the English metropolis in the sixteenth century; high and low, rich and poor, nobles and swindlers, rakes

	s. d.			s. d.	
The best goose (in a shop) ...	1	2	ditto, at market ...	1	0
The best hen, ditto	0	9	ditto, ditto	0	7
The best chickens, ditto	0	4	ditto, ditto	0	3
The best pigeons per doz. ditto	1	2	ditto, ditto	1	0
The best wild mallard, ditto	0	6	ditto, ditto	0	5
The best rabbits, ditto	0	4			
The best eggs, ditto, five for	0	1			
The best butter per lb.	0	3			

These prices were settled by the magistrates in London, to restrain the combinations of poulterers &c.—Noorthouck's Hist. of London, p. 134.

nd misers, debauchees and politicians, men of
 intrigue and men of business, those who had
 nothing to do, and those whose active spirits
 were never at a loss for occupation. But
 modern phraseology is incompetent to the
 description of such a singular microcosm ; we
 must have recourse to the language of a con-
 temporary writer, who had drawn his portrait
 of it on the spot. “ It is the land’s epitome,”
 says he, “ or you may call it the lesser isle
 of Great-Britain. It is more than this ; the
 whole world’s map, which you may here dis-
 cover in its perfectest motion, justling and
 turning. It is a heap of stones and men,
 with a vast confusion of languages ; and were
 the steeple not sanctified, nothing liker Babel.
 The noise in it is like that of bees ; a strange
 humming or buz, mixt of walking tongues
 and feet. It is a kind of still war or loud
 whisper. It is the great exchange of all dis-
 course ; and no business whatsoever but is
 here stirring and afoot. It is the synod of all
 states politic, jointed and laid together in the
 most serious posture ; and they are not half
 so busy in the parliament. It is the antic

of tails to tails, and backs to backs ; and for vizards, you need go no further than faces. It is the market of young lecturers, whom you may cheapen here at all rates and sizes. It is the general mint of all famous lies ; which are here, like the legends, popery first coined and stamped in the church. All inventions are emptied here, and not few pockets. The best sign of a temple in it is, that it is the thieves' sanctuary, which rob more safely in the crowd than a wilderness, whilst every searcher is a bush to hide them. It is the other expense of the day, after plays, tavern, and a brothel ; and men have still some oaths left to swear here. It is the ear's brothel, and satisfies their lust and itch. The visitants are all men without exceptions ; but the principal inhabitants and possessors are stale knights and captains out of service ; men of long rapiers and breeches, which, after all turn merchants here, and traffic for news. Some make it a preface to their dinner, and travel for a stomach ; but thriftier men make it their ordinary, and board here very cheap. Of all such places it is least haunted by hob-

goblins; for if a ghost should walk, move he could not.”* The nave of old “Powles” afforded “ample room and verge enough” for this miscellaneous throng; for the old cathedral stretched in length to seven hundred and twenty feet, and in breadth to one hundred and thirty. Its noble height was proportionable to this extensive ground plan: the roof of the body of the church was one hundred and fifty feet from the pavement; and the top of the steeple five hundred and twenty feet.†

ALSATIA, WHITE-FRIARS, SANCTUARY.

Although the picture which our author has given us of Alsatia and its transactions, be somewhat gross and revolting, yet we are fain to overlook the coarseness of the subject, in the strength of its outline, the force of its

* Microcosmography, 1628. Pennant's London, p. 354.

† Stowe's Survey, book iii. p. 144.

colouring, and the truth of its drawing. The fact is, that not only did this region of misrule and hot-bed of crime actually exist in the heart of London, in the commencement of the seventeenth century, but that it was characterised by the atrocious and peculiar *manners* attributed to it in the novel. A contemporary author has given us this general description of the interior state of all such places of protected guilt: "Unthrifths riot, and run in debt, upon the boldness of these places; yea, and rich men run thither with poor men's goods, where they build. There they spend, and bid their creditors go whistle them. Men's wives run thither with their husbands' plate, and say that they dare not abide with their husbands for beating them. Thieves bring thither their stolen goods, and live thereon: there they devise robberies; nightly they steal out; they rob, and reive, and kill, and come in again, as though these places gave them not only safeguard for the harm they have done, but a license to do more."*

And Shadwell, in his play of "The

* Stowe's Chron. p. 443.

Squire of Alsatia," published in the reign of James II., has developed such scenes of vice in this particular place of refuge for criminals, as form a sufficient foundation for our author's account of the depraved wretches who dwelt, and of the desperate adventures which occurred, in the Alsatia, of which he has made his hero a temporary inmate. It is evident, indeed, that he had Shadwell's play in his recollection, if not in his hand, when he wrote this part of his amusing work : the novelist's bully Captain Colepepper is an exact transcript of the dramatist's Captain Hackum ; and the characters of Cheatley and Shamwell, as well as the scenes of riot, and rescues, and frauds, and debaucheries, in Shadwell's play, have all their near imitations in "The Fortunes of Nigel." That "The Squire of Alsatia" affords a pretty accurate representation of the real state of what White-Friars was at the time of its being brought upon the stage, seems sufficiently obvious ; for the success of a dramatic piece must ever depend on the truth of the characters and manners which it represents ; and it is clear, from the applause with which

“The Squire of Alsatia” was received, and the esteem which it long maintained, that it completely harmonized with the conception generally entertained, by the public, of the actual condition of the author’s scene of action. It should, however, be remarked, that though the manners of this singular place were still extant, yet its *peculiar language* could be interpreted only by those who enjoyed its privileges. The dramatist, therefore, thought it necessary to prefix to his published play a list of the *cant terms* in common circulation among the Alsatians, together with their significations, which appeared to be requisite for the use of such as were not conversant with the elegant phraseology of the “gentlemen of the fancy” of his day. The vocabulary and key will throw some light on the *slang* of the seventeenth century.

Alsatia, - - White-Friars.

Prig, prigster, pert coxcomb.

Bubble-caravan, the cheated.

Sealer, - - one that gives bonds and judgments for goods and money.

A put, - - - one who is easily wheedled
and cheated.

Cole, ready-rhino, darby, ready money.

Rhinocercical, - full of money.

Meggs, - - guineas.

Smelts, - - half-guineas.

Decus, - - a crown-piece.

George, - - a half-crown.

Hog, - - - a shilling.

Sice, - - - a sixpence.

Scout, - - - a watch.

Tatter, - - an alarum, or striking-
watch.

Famble, - - a ring.

Porker, tilter, a sword.

A rum nab, - a good beaver or hat.

Rigging, - - clothes.

A bolter of White-Friars, one that does
but peep out of White-
Friars, and retire again,
like a rabbit out of his
hole.

To lug out, - to draw a sword.

To rub, to scour, to run away.

Bowsy, - - drunk.

marked, that *Alsace* appears to have been very productive of characters well adapted to colonize White-Friars, in the numerous droves of gypsies which (Grellman tells us) this province formerly contained.*

The privileges of sanctuary date very high in the history of civilized mankind. Originating, probably, in the abuse of the divine ordinance for the establishment of *cities of refuge*, among the Jews, for the protection of the involuntary shedder of human blood, the *asylum* was adopted by the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, and perverted to the pernicious purpose of protecting the flagitious and the violent.† Thus corrupted, it became an attribute of papal authority; and was introduced into England, shortly after the conversion of its inhabitants to what was then called the christian religion.‡ In the

* Holroyd's Hist. Gypsies, p. 21.

† Herod. Euterp. c. 113. Tacit. Ann. l. iii. c. 60.

Hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asylum
Retulit. *Æn.* viii. 342.

‡ While popish superstition was young, but strong, in England, (for it was an infant Hercules,) the pri-

laws of Ina, the privileges of sanctuary are recognised as a branch of the constitution of the kingdom;* and Sebert, king of the West Saxons, in 604, conferred them by his charter on Westminster Abbey; a charter which Edgar extended, and Edward the Confessor renewed and confirmed.† Within the limits

vileges of sanctuary were allowed to *every church*, according to the following law of Ina. “ Si quis rei capitalis reus *ad templum* confugerit, *vita potitor*, et secundum jus fasque, compensato. Si quis verbera promeritus, fani suffugium implorarit, ei verbera remittuntur.”—Legis Inæ, c. 5. Lambarde’s Archaionom. page 2. The same constitution is found in Alfred’s code.—Ib. page 23. In after times this indiscriminate grant appears to have been resumed, and the privileges of sanctuary confined to those places specifically named for such purposes, by popes and princes; for thus the law writers define *sanctuary*: “ Sanctuarie est un lieu privilégié par le prince ou souverain gouverneur pour le sauvegarde du vie d’homme qui est offenseur. Sanctuarie n’est forsque comme un liberté ou franchise graunté par le roy à l’abbè, ou spirituel gouverneur.”—Will. Sandford de Placitis Coronæ, lib. ii. c. 38. Monast. Anglican. tom. i. page 172.

* Lambarde’s Archaionom. p. 2 et 138.

† Stowe’s Survey, book vi. p. 38.

of these privileged spots, the criminal was secure from the vindictive arm of justice. Artifice might seduce the wretch, or persuasion prevail with him to quirk the fabric, and the range of thirty paces which were allowed to him around it; but he was shielded, if he determined to remain within it, from violent abduction, both by the guardianship of the laws, and the *religio loci*, or superstitious dread of violating its sacredness.

“ My lord of Buckingham, if my weak orator
Can from his mother win the Duke of York,
Anon expect him here; but if she be
Obdurate to entreaties, God forbid
We should infringe the holy privilege
Of sanctuary! Not for all this land
Would I be guilty of so deep a sin.”

The conventual church of White-Friars, under the name of *Fratres beatæ Mariæ de Monte Carmeli*, was first founded by Sir Richard Grey, knight, in the year 1241; and obtained, probably, at the same time, the immunities of *sanctuary*.* These it enjoyed in the amplest manner till the twenty-second of Henry VIII., who, influenced by very

* Stowe's Survey, book iii. p. 267.

sound motives of policy, considerably curtailed them, and regulated those which he suffered to remain ;* but James the First having, in the year 1608, injudiciously granted a charter of fresh liberties to a place|| already too licentious, it became the resort of insolvent debtors, cheats, gamesters, and desperadoes of every description, who gave to the district the name of Alsatia;† and lived within it in an utter disregard of all law, order, and decency; insulking justice, and defying lawful authority. The legislature at length was roused to take cognizance of these desperate invaders of the peace of society. In the twenty-first of James I. an Act was passed to extinguish for ever the privilege of sanctuary throughout the kingdom; and a final stop was put to the inordinances of White-Friars in particular, by the 8th and 9th of William III. c. 27, by

* Stat. at large, vol. ii. p. 148. || Stowe ut sup.

† Neorthouck's History of London, p. 643. He says, "the humours of this place were displayed by Beaumont and Fletcher, in a comedy entitled *The Squire of Alsatia*." This curious play, we have seen, was written by Shadwell.

divesting it of its only remaining exemption—that of protecting debtors against the claims of their creditors.

Burn has given us the following abridged account of the law of sanctuary, its privileges, and their abolition.

“Anciently the church and church-yard was a sanctuary, and the foundation of abjuration; for whoever was not capable of this sanctuary, could not have the benefit of abjuration; and, therefore, he that committed sacrilege, because he could not have the privilege of sanctuary, could not abjure. This *abjuration* was, when a person had committed felony, and for safeguard of his life had fled to the sanctuary of a church or church-yard, and there, before the coroner of that place, within forty days, had confessed the felony, and took an oath for his perpetual banishment out of the realm into a foreign country, choosing rather to lose his country than his life. But the foreign country into which

he was to be exiled might not be amongst infidels.—3 Inst. 115.

“ By the Act of 21 Jac. c. 28, s. 7, it is enacted, *that no sanctuary, or privilege of sanctuary, shall be admitted or allowed in any case.* By which Act, such abjuration as was at the common law founded (as hath been said) upon the privileges of sanctuary is wholly taken away. But the abjuration by force of the statutes of 35 Eliz. c. 1, and 35 Eliz. c. 2, in the case of recusants, remaineth still, because such abjuration hath no dependency upon any sanctuary.—3 Inst. 115, 116.

“ And the law was so favourable for the preservation of sanctuary, that if the felon had been in prison for the felony, and before attainder or conviction, had escaped, and taken sanctuary in the church or church-yard, and the gaolers or others had pursued him, and brought him back again to prison, upon his arraignment he might have pleaded the same, and should have been restored again to the sanctuary.—3 Inst. 217. Eccl. Law, vol. i. page 365.

PEVERIL OF THE PEAK.

WE are again summoned to the consideration of a work of varied character; not of uniform excellence, for several minute defects in the composition, and some deformities in the *moral action* of the novel, must preclude *unqualified* praise; while, on the other hand, that peculiar richness of invention, and vigour and vivacity in embodying his conceptions, that originality of thought, and power of language, which distinguish most of the other compositions of this extraordinary writer, are too conspicuous in *Peveril of the Peak* to suffer it to be dismissed with the cold approbation of its being merely an agreeable or successful effort of genius. We know, indeed, of no novel written by our author, which, generally speaking, offers to the reader a more extensive variety, or a happier opposition, of characters and situations; a greater abundance of singular but artfully

connected events; a narrative more complicated, but natural in its details; and a conclusion more regular or satisfactory in its management: and if, in the conduct of such an involved and intricate machine, the artist should occasionally be found to have committed some trifling mistakes, he may not only shelter himself under the protecting axiom of *humanum est errare*, but fairly urge, that the blemishes are so minute as to be imperceptible, were they not rendered conspicuous by the exquisite manufacture of the great body of the work. Upon this principle he may plead for pardon (and it must in justice be awarded to him) for describing his heroine's eyes as of two different colours at two different periods of her life; for converting *Stephen* into *Diccon* Ganlesse, and aunt *Ellesmere* into aunt *Whitaker*; for making Major Bridgnorth act and speak like a maniac, in his interview with Lady Peveril in the avenue, and cloathing him, before and after, with the character of a staid and consistent, though wrong-principled, man; and for attributing to *Finella* or *Zarah*, circumstances

of education, and action, and peculiarities of physical and moral constitution, which even the wish to believe all that is told us will not render probable. That he has thrown less of *originality*, also, into some of his characters, than we find in his earlier productions, is not a matter of surprise, and ought not to be an occasion of blame. Bridgnorth, it is true, is drawn after Balfour of Burley, but with milder colours; and Finella, Sir Geoffry Hudson, and other personages, have their prototypes in the novels which have preceded *Peveril of the Peak*; but it must be recollected, that the difficulty of designating the varieties of the same species by a series of particulars appropriately and exclusively their own, is to be mastered only by a genius of the mightiest stature; and that, in the modern world, Shakespeare alone can claim a comparison with the Kaleidoscope, which throws the same few simple materials into an infinite variety of beautiful forms; or assert a right to apply to himself the praise of Horace,

Ille profecto

Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique.

With respect to *one* class of his characters, however, we could wish that he had deviated a little more than he has done from his original general conception of them. In describing Flibbertygibbet, in Kenilworth, he lays it down as a principle, that all such unfortunates in exterior form must necessarily be *malignant*, from their envy of those who have been more favourably dealt with by nature than themselves; and, upon this principle, has attributed a mischievous and spiteful cast of character to one and all of these busy agents in his several novels. As a sweeping principle, however, this view of the personages in question is decidedly a false one; contradicted, we will venture to say, by the experience of every one who has seen much of human life. But, even were it sanctioned by the results of common observation, we would strenuously contend, that it would not be a fact proper to be recognised in works of fancy. The deformed in person, and diminutive in figure, are committed by that Providence, who ordained those deficiencies, to the *benevolence* of their

more fortunate fellow-creatures. Their very appearance is repulsive to the pride and self-conceit of human nature ; which not only withhold from them the kindly feelings bestowed on more pleasing objects, but are prone to attribute to them a deformity of mind analogous to their defects in outward shape.

To endeavour to counteract this prejudice is the business, and will be the desire, of the generous, the liberal, and the kind ; to confirm, or extend it, by axioms which render these unfortunates hateful, or by representations which make them despicable, is at once cowardly and inhuman ; and that writer of imaginative composition, who has obtained a wide controul over public opinion, will ill deserve the influence he enjoys, if he give extension or popularity to notions, which are not more ill founded and unjust in themselves, than injurious to the peace, interest, and well-being of those to whom they are applied.

Biographical Illustrations.

CHARLES THE SECOND.

Though it cannot be doubted that, in the divine appointments, every dispensation is intended to work out a salutary and benevolent end; and that even suffering and sorrow, so far from being the harsh inflictions of an arbitrary tyrant, are the results of united wisdom and love, adapted to edify and benefit the objects of such visitations; to reclaim the vicious, to subdue the arrogant, and to teach

“Heedless, rambling impulse how to think;”

yet it must be recollected, that these means of moral and spiritual improvement have nothing *coercive* in their nature; that they do not *necessarily* awaken the soul, purify the

affections, or reform the life; but, like all other opportunities of grace, may be slighted by carelessness, or resisted by obduracy, and thus utterly fail of their proposed effect. They are moral medicines, admirably adapted to the moral constitution of man, to his rational nature, and responsible condition; and designed to influence his will, by allaying his passions, and softening his heart: but, like the medicinal preparations applied to his physical frame, they must be regarded by the recipient as the means of relief and recovery, and taken in patient conformity to the intention and directions with which they are administered, or no benefit can result from their exhibition.

That these calls to reflection and improvement are too frequently slighted, common observation sufficiently convinces us. We every day see instances of human perverseness counteracting the designs of Divine Goodness, in this respect; and the personal misfortunes of the individual, instead of amending his moral state, only hardening his feelings, and darkening his general character. His un-

checked pride, his habits of vice, his devotion to objects of sense, have so completely pre-occupied his heart, that there is no admission for that softening influence which adversity is calculated to infuse into it. He regards all such visitations as acts of injustice, instead of manifestations of chastening love ; they excite his anger, and not his reflection ; he becomes either hardened, or reckless ; “ goes on still in his wickedness ;” and the melancholy conclusion is, that “ the last state of that man is worse than the first.”

The world has rarely seen a more striking example of the truth of these remarks, than in Charles the Second. When only fifteen years of age, he was compelled, by the distractions and dangers of his country, to depart from his father’s court, and become an unwelcome visitor, and a neglected dependent, at a foreign one. Three years afterwards, his father was cut off by a violent and terrible death, which shook all christendom with horror. His own defeats and flights, at Dunbar and Worcester, succeeded this visitation ; and years of exile followed, in which

he was doomed to experience the bitterness of reiterated disappointment, the insults of avowed enemies, and the still more painful slights and mockeries of nominal friends. Such striking moral lessons as these, it might naturally be expected, would have given a *considerate* cast to the character of Charles; and, combined with the unexpected event of his restoration to power and independence, have made reflection and sobriety, if not religion and gratitude, the marked features of his matured mind, and the great principles of his future conduct. But there was no part of Charles's moral constitution accessible to feelings, either good or great; no genial spot in his heart, to receive and foster the solemn and gentle impressions which adversity is calculated to produce. Warnings and mercies were alike thrown away upon him. Confirmed habits of vice succeeded to the errors of youth; and, when exhausted passions ceased to stimulate him, he still sought refuge from convictions which might have awakened, corrected, and improved him, in a cold system of unenjoyed crime.

It is but candid, however, to admit, that the singular unworthiness of Charles's character might be, in part, attributed to a defective education. Nature had done much for him in person and intellect, and early able tuition would, doubtless, have developed his various capacities, and given them an useful, if not an amiable, direction. But this advantage he did not enjoy. Dr. Duppa, afterward, bishop of Winchester, was first honoured with the care of the royal pupil; a man, as Burnet tells us, of "a meek and humble disposition, and much loved for his sweetness of temper, though no way fit for that post,"* either from his want of decision and firmness, or from an apprehension that future preferment might be precluded by any system, either of controul or coercion.† But, however deficient Duppa might be in the qualities of a tutor, Charles,

* Hist. of his own Times, v. i. p. 177.

† Duppa afterwards accepted preferment from the Duke of Buckingham: and Burnet, speaking of his death, says, "he would have been more esteemed if he had died before the Restoration; for he made not that use of the great wealth that flowed in upon him, that was expected."—Ib.

on his first step into life, fell, unfortunately, into infinitely worse hands. "The Duke of Buckingham," (as Burnet tells us,) "when he returned from his travels, in the year 1645, found the prince newly come to Paris, sent over by his father when his affairs declined; and finding the king enough inclined to receive ill impressions, he, who was then got into all the impieties and vices of the age, set himself to corrupt the prince, in which he was too successful, being seconded in that wicked design by the Lord Percy: and, to complete the matter, *Hobbes* was brought to him, under the pretence of instructing him in mathematics, and he laid before him his schemes, both with relation to religion and politics, which made deep and lasting impressions on the prince's mind. So that the main blame of the king's ill principles, and bad morals, was owing to the Duke of Buckingham."*

We find, from Whitlock, that one, among the many unsuccessful projects for terminating the disputes between Charles I. and his Parliament, was, to appoint "some of the

* *Ib.* page 101.

grandees" of the popular party "to offices at court," whereby Strafford's enemies "should become his friends, and the king's desires be promoted."* It is a very curious circumstance, that, in this projected arrangement, the celebrated *John Hampden* was nominated to be the tutor of Prince Charles. The plan was so far adopted, that the Bishop of London (Juxon) resigned up his treasurer's staff, and the Lord Cothington his place of master of the wards. "But whether upon the king's alteration of his mind," (says Whitlock,) "or by what other means it came to pass, is uncertain, these things were not effected." It would furnish matter for amusing speculation, to conjecture what might have been the influence upon Charles the Second's character and fortunes, had this

* Memorials, p. 41. The late Lord Orford (Catalogue, Royal and Noble Authors, v. ii. p. 18) has, unfairly, attributed to Hampden self-interestedness and ambition, as the motives which induced him to solicit or accept the nomination of tutor to the prince. His Lordship, however, formed his conclusion from an estimate of his own, rather than Hampden's, character.

arrangement, as far as it regarded himself, been carried into execution. It is not to be supposed, that so pure, firm, and principled a mind as Hampden's, would have been perverted in its sense of duty by such a situation. The man who (as Lord Clarendon himself tells us) "was regarded as the *pater patriæ*, whose reputation of honesty was universal, and whose affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them ;"* who was willing to forego his country, and his kindred, rather than renounce his principles ; and who, at last, shed his life's blood in their defence and maintenance : a man thus severely virtuous was very unlikely to be corrupted, in his notions of what was right, by the dazzle of a court employment. Doubtless, he would have endeavoured to imbue the mind of his pupil with those grand and disinterested political opinions, which he had himself imbibed from the sages of antiquity ; with that spirit of piety, which inflamed his own heart ; and that fine moral taste, which manifested itself in his own pure and exemplary life.

* Hist. of Rebell. v. iii. 265.

Whether his efforts to effect this would have been altogether successful, must, of course, remain undetermined ; but it is probable the tuition of such a preceptor, if of long continuance, would, at least, have produced a negative good effect, and rendered his charge less irreligious and immoral, less sensual and selfish, less mean and unprincipled, than Charles the Second is proved to have been, by all the transactions of his public, and all the habits of his private, life.

There is not to be found, perhaps, in English history, a finer analysis of royal character, with reference both to politics and morals, than that which Burnet has given us of Charles the Second. It cannot be charged with *malignity*, for the bishop was so far from entertaining any personal hatred against the king, that he would have esteemed him, if he could, and was repelled only by the bad principles and vices of his sovereign : nor can it be suspected of *untruth*, for the records of Charles's infamy are sufficiently numerous and notorious, to corroborate every particular of the bishop's striking representation.

“ Thus lived and died,” says the historian, “ King Charles the Second. He was the greatest instance in history of the various revolutions, of which any one man seemed capable. He was bred up, the first twelve years of his life, with the splendour that became the heir of so great a crown. After that he passed through eighteen years in great inequalities; unhappy, in the war, in the loss of his father, and of the crown of England. Scotland did not only receive him, though upon terms hard of digestion, but made an attempt upon England for him, though a feeble one. He lost the battle of Worcester with too much indifference; and then he shewed more care of his person than became one who had so much at stake. He wandered about England for ten weeks after that, hiding from place to place. But, under all the apprehensions he had then upon him, he shewed a temper so careless and so much turned to levity, that he was then diverting himself with little household sports, in as unconcerned a manner as if he had had no loss, and had been in no danger at all. He got, at last, out of England: but he

had been obliged to so many, who had been faithful to him and careful of him, that he seemed afterwards to resolve to make an equal return to them all ; and finding it not easy to reward them all as they deserved, he forgot them all alike. Most princes seem to have this pretty deep in them; and to think that they ought never to remember past services, but that their acceptance of them is a full reward. He, of all in our age, exerted this piece of prerogative in the amplest manner ; for he never seemed to charge his memory, or trouble his thoughts, with the sense of any of the services that had been done him. While he was abroad at Paris, Cologne, or Brussels, he never seemed to lay any thing to heart. He pursued all his diversions and irregular pleasures in a free career, and seemed to be as serene under the loss of a crown as the greatest philosopher could have been. Nor did he willingly hearken to any of those projects, with which he often complained his chancellor persecuted him. That in which he seemed most concerned was, to find money for supporting his expenses ; and it was often said

at if Cromwell would have compounded the matter, and given him a good round pension, that he might have been induced to resign his place to him. During his exile, he delivered himself so entirely to his pleasures, that he became incapable of application. He spent the whole of his time in reading or study, and yet was idle in thinking. And, in the state his affairs were then in, he accustomed himself to say to every person, and upon all occasions, that which he thought would please most: so that orders or promises went very easily from him. And he had so ill an opinion of mankind, that he thought the great art of living and governing was, to manage all things, and all persons, with a depth of craft and dissimulation: so that, in that, few men in the world could put the appearance of sincerity better than he could; under which so much artifice was usually hid, that in conclusion he could deceive any, for all were become mistrustful of him. He had great vices, but scarce any virtues to correct them: he had in him some vices that were less hurtful, which corrected his more dangerous ones. He was, during the active part

of life, given up to sloth and lewdness, to such a degree, that he hated business, and could not bear the engaging in any thing that gave him much trouble, or put him under any constraint. And, though he desired to become absolute, and to overturn both our religion and our laws, yet he would neither run the risk, nor give himself the trouble, which so great a design required. He had an appearance of gentleness in his outward deportment; but he seemed to have no bowels nor tenderness in his nature: and, in the end of his life, he became cruel. He was apt to forgive all crimes, even blood itself: yet he never forgave any thing that was done against himself, after his first act, a general act of indemnity, which was to be reckoned as done rather upon maxims of state than inclinations of mercy. He delivered himself up to a most enormous course of vice, without any sort of restraint, even from the consideration of the nearest relations: the most studied extravagancies that way seemed, to the very last, to be delighted in and pursued by him. He had the art of making all people grow fond of

him, at first, by a softness in his whole way of conversation, as he was certainly the best bred man of the age; but when it appeared how little could be built on his promise, they were cured of the fondness he was apt to raise in them. When he saw young men of quality, who had something more than ordinary in them, he drew them about him, and set himself to corrupt them both in religion and morality; in which he proved so unhappily successful, that he left England much changed, at his death, from what he had found it at his restoration. He loved to talk over all the stories of his life to every new man that came about him. His stay in Scotland, and the share he had in the war at Paris, in carrying messages from one side to the other, were his common topics. He went over these in a very graceful manner; but so often, and so copiously, that all those who had been long accustomed to them, grew weary of them; and when he entered on these stories, they usually withdrew: so that he often began them in a full audience, and before he had done, there were not above four or five left about him; which drew a severe jest from

Wilmot earl of Rochester. He said, he wondered to see a man have so good a memory as to repeat the same story, without losing the least circumstance, and yet not remember that he had told it, to the same persons, the very day before. This made him fond of strangers, for they hearkened to all his often-repeated stories, and went away as in a rapture at such an uncommon condescension in a king.

“ His person and temper, his vices as well as his fortunes, resembled the character that we have given us of Tiberius, so much, that it were easy to draw the parallel between them. Tiberius’s banishment, and his coming afterwards to reign, makes the comparison in that respect pretty near. His hating of business, and his love of pleasures; his raising of favourites, and trusting them entirely; and his pulling them down, and hating them excessively; his art of covering deep designs, particularly of revenge, with an appearance of softness, brings them so near a likeness, that I did not much wonder to observe the resemblance of their face and person. At Rome I saw one of the last statues made for Tiberius,

after he had lost his teeth; but, bating the alteration which that made, it was so like King Charles, that Prince Borghese, and Senior Dominico, to whom it belonged, did agree with me in thinking that it looked like a statue made for him.

“ Few things ever went near his heart. The Duke of Gloucester’s death seemed to touch him much. But those who knew him best, thought it was because he had lost him, by whom only he could have balanced the surviving brother, whom he hated, and yet embroiled all his affairs to preserve the succession to him.

“ His ill conduct in the Dutch war, and those terrible calamities, the Plague, and Fire of London, with that loss and reproach which he suffered by the insult at Chatham, made all people conclude there was a curse upon his government. His throwing the public hatred, at that time, upon Clarendon, was both unjust and ungrateful. And, when his people had brought him out of all his difficulties, upon his entering into the triple alliance, his selling that to France, and his entering on the second

Dutch war, was with as little colour as the first; his beginning it with the attempt on the Dutch Smyrna fleet, the shutting up the exchequer, and his declaration for toleration, which was a step for the introduction of Popery; make such a chain of black actions, flowing from blacker designs, that it amazed those who had known all this, to see with what impudent strains of flattery addresses were penned during his life, and yet more grossly after his death. His contributing so much to the raising the greatness of France, chiefly at sea, was such an error, that it could not flow from want of thought or of true sense. Rouvigny told me, he desired that all the methods France took in the increase and conduct of their naval force might be sent to him; and, he said, he seemed to study them with concern and zeal. He shewed what errors they committed, and how they ought to be corrected, as if he had been a viceroy of France, rather than a king that ought to have watched over and prevented the progress they made, as the greatest of all mischiefs that could happen to him, or his people. They that judged

the most favourably of this, thought it was done out of revenge to the Dutch, that, with the assistance of so great a fleet as France could join to his own, he might be able to destroy them. But others put a worse construction on it, and thought, that seeing he could not quite master or deceive his subjects, by his own strength and management, he was wishing to help forward the greatness of the French at sea, that, by their assistance, he might more certainly subdue his own people; according to what was generally believed to have fallen from Lord Clifford, that, if the king must be in a dependence, it was better to pay it to a great and generous king, than to five hundred of his own insolent subjects.

“ No part of his character looked wicked, as well as meaner, than that he, all the while that he was professing to be of the Church of England, expressing both zeal and affection to it, was yet secretly reconciled to the Church of Rome, thus mocking God, and deceiving the world, with so gross a prevarication. And his not having the honesty or courage to own it at the last; his not shewing any sign of the

least remorse for his ill-led life, or any tenderness, either for his subjects in general, or for the queen and his servants; and his recommending only his mistresses, and their children, to his brother's care, would have been a strange conclusion to any other's life, but was well enough suited to all the other parts of his.

“ The two papers, found in his strong box, concerning religion, and afterwards published by his brother, looked like study and reasoning. Tennison told me, he saw the original in Pepy's hands, to whom King James trusted them for some time. They were interlined in several places, and the interlinings seemed to be writ in a hand different from that in which the papers had been writ ; but he was not so well acquainted with the king's hand, as to make any judgment in the matter, whether they were writ by him or not. All that knew him, when they read them, did, without any sort of doubting, conclude that he never composed them; for he never read the Scriptures, nor laid things together, further than to turn them to a jest, or some lively expression. These papers were, probably, writ

either by Lord Bristol, or Lord Aubigny, who knew the secret of his religion, and gave him those papers, as abstracts of some discourses they had with him on those heads, to keep him fixed to them. And it is very probable that they, apprehending their danger, if any such papers had been found about him, writ in their hand, might prevail with him to copy them out himself, though his laziness that way made it, certainly, no easy thing to bring him to give himself so much trouble. He had talked over a great part of them to myself; so that, as soon as I saw them I remembered his expressions, and perceived that he had made himself master of the argument, as far as those papers could carry him. But the publishing them shewed a want of judgment, or of regard to his memory, in those who did it; for the greatest kindness that could be shewn to his memory, would have been to have let both his papers and himself be forgotten.

“ Which I should certainly have done, if I had not thought that the laying open of what I knew concerning him, and his affairs,

might be of some use to posterity. And, therefore, how ungrateful soever this labour has proved to myself, and how unacceptable soever it might be to some, who are either obliged to remember him gratefully, or by the engagement of parties and interests are under other biasses, yet I have gone through all that I knew relating to his life and reign, with that regard to truth, and what I think may be instructive to mankind, which became an impartial writer of history, and one who believes that he must give an account to God of what he writes, as well as of what he says and does.”*

The absence of all moral virtue is, in some characters, rendered less observable, and, unhappily, less disgusting, in consequence of its place being supplied by such specious qualities as, a disregard to interest; a profuse spirit, that would be generosity if it acted upon principle; a complexional insensibility to causes of irritation and resentment; or a high sense of worldly honour, that will not allow the doing or suffering of any thing

* Vol, i. page 611, et infra.

unbecoming the character of a gentleman. But Charles's turpitude does not appear to have been of this leavened description. There was no softness in his moral composition ; no lofty principle in his nature ; and when free, for the moment, from the influence of the more violent passions, a deliberate meanness and malignity marked his actions, less dignified (if the term may be so perverted) than open profligacy. The two following anecdotes will confirm this view of Charles's mind and disposition.

The greater part of the collection (of rarities) of King Charles the First being dispersed in the troubles, among which were several of the *Olivers*, (miniatures by those painters,) Charles the Second, who remembered, and was desirous of recovering, them, made many enquiries about them after the restoration. At last he was told by one Rogers, of Isleworth,* that both the father

* Vertue says, this man was very great at court. It was, probably, Rogers, well-known for being employed in the king's private pleasures. —See *Memoires de Grammont*.

and the son were dead, but that the son's widow was living at Isleworth, and had many of their works. The king went very privately and unknown, with Rogers, to see them: the widow shewed several, finished and unfinished, with many of which the king being pleased, asked if she would sell them? She replied, she had a mind the king should see them first, and if he did not purchase them, she should think of disposing of them. The king discovered himself; on which she produced some more pictures, which she seldom shewed. The king desired her to set her price; she said she did not care to make a price with his Majesty, she would leave it to him; but promised to look over her husband's books, and let his Majesty know what prices his father, the late king, had paid. The king took away what he liked, and sent Rogers to Mrs. Oliver, with the option of one thousand pounds, or an annuity of three hundred pounds for her life. She chose the latter. Some years afterwards it happened that the king's mistresses having begged all, or most, of these pictures, Mrs. Oliver, who

was, probably, a prude, and apt to express herself like a prude, said, on hearing it, that if she had thought the king would have given them to such strumpets and bastards, he never should have had them. This reached the court; the poor woman's pension was stopped; and she never received it afterwards.*

The above-related fact merely stamps Charles's character with the baseness of a swindler; the ensuing one will place it in a much more odious light.

A tax on playhouses had been proposed by the country party in the House of Commons, in the year 1669. The court opposed it. "It was said the players were the king's servants, and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry asked, whether did the king's pleasure lie among the men or the women that acted? This was carried with great indignation to the court. It was said, this was the first time that the king was personally reflected on : if it were passed over, more of the same kind would follow, and it would grow a fashion to talk so ; it was therefore fit to take such

* Walpole's Anec. of Painting, vol. ii. p. 23.

severe notice of this, that nobody should dare to talk at that rate for the future. The Duke of York told me, he said all he could to the king to divert him from the resolution he took; which was, to send some of the guards, *and watch in the street where Sir John lodged, and leave a mark upon him.* Sands and Obrian, and some others, went thither; and as Coventry was going home, they drew about him. He stood up to the wall, and snatched the flambeau out of his servant's hands, and with that in the one hand and his sword in the other, he defended himself so well, that he got more credit by it than by all the actions of his life. He wounded some of them, but was soon disarmed; and then they *cut his nose to the bone,* to teach him to remember what respect he owed to the king; and so they left him, and went back to the Duke of Monmouth's, where Obrian's arm was dressed. That matter was executed by orders from the Duke of Monmouth; for which he was severely censured, because he lived then in professions of friendship with Coventry; so that his subjection to the king was not thought

an excuse for directing so vile an attempt upon his friend, without sending him secret notice of what was designed. Coventry had his nose so well needled up, that the scar was scarcely to be discerned. This put the House of Commons in a furious uproar. They passed a bill of banishment against the actors of it; and put a clause in it, that it should not be in the king's power to pardon them."* This atrocious transaction was the occasion of the celebrated Coventry Act being passed.

There is a *malice prepense* in this transaction on the part of Charles,—a cold, calculating, premeditated resolve of heavy vengeance, for 'a trifle light as air,'—utterly incompatible with that carelessness of disposition and natural good temper, which have been attributed to him by his admirers and apologists. The man who could levy so dreadful a retribution on a slight *læsa majestas*—a mere harmless personal allusion—ill deserved that portrait of the gay, and free, and jocose, and companionable monarch, with which he is painted by the author of "Peveril of the Peak."

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 269.

It would be easy to accumulate examples of the *hardness* of Charles's nature, so opposite to the popular notions which are entertained of his suavity of disposition. Nothing could be more unmanly, as well as contrary to the behaviour of a gentleman, than his conduct to his Queen Catherine of Portugal. Lord Clarendon, who was sufficiently inclined to view his master's character in a favourable light, has related the particulars of the king's persecution of her Majesty, on account of one of his mistresses, Mrs. Palmer, (afterwards Lady Castelmaine and Dutchess of Cleveland,) that would have disgraced a coal-heaver;* and the advantage which he took of the age and intellectual infirmities of Ward bishop

* Continuation of Life, &c. p. 324, 339. Between this lady and Lord Clarendon a hatred of the purest nature subsisted: though his lordship, in compliance with the commands of his royal master, had been particularly civil to her. When he was going from court, on the resignation of the great seal, the lady insulted him from a window of the palace. He turned to her, and said, with a calm but spirited dignity, "Madam, if you live, you will grow old."—Granger, vol. v. page 361.

of Salisbury, manifests not only a total want of all honourable sentiment, but of what we are still more disinclined to dispense with—all milk of human kindness. The fact was this.

“ The revenue belonging to the order of the Garter” (it is Dr. Pope that speaks) “ was usually received by the chancellor, and he paid the officers and the poor knights of Windsor ; the surplus the king had formerly granted to Sir Henry de Vic, and it was quietly possessed by him till he died, out of which he was to defray the charges and fees of foreign princes and noblemen, who were admitted into that order. For this, also, the Bishop of Salisbury had the king’s hand ; which grant had been firm and irrevocable, had the bishop sealed it with the seal of the order, which he kept in his possession ; or caused it to pass the usual offices, which had been easy for him to have done then, being in much favour at court. But he made use of neither of these corroborations ; and afterwards smarted for it sufficiently. In the last year of the reign of Charles the Second, *and the first of the precipitate decay of the Bishop of Salisbury’s*

intellectuals, some sagacious courtier found out a flaw in this grant; whereupon the Bishop was sent for up to London, and obliged to refund, to the utmost penny, which, in so many years, amounted to a considerable sum; all which his Majesty took, without any scruple or remorse.”* Surely, with such facts as these before us, we cannot avoid adopting the conclusion of Lord Orrery, that, “our historians have altogether erred in representing Charles the Second as a good-natured man: ignorantly, or rather wilfully, mistaking good-humour and affability, for tenderness and good-nature; neither of which last are to be reckoned amongst this monarch’s virtues.”†

One flash of humane and patriotic feeling (and, we fear, a solitary one) relieves the general darkness of Charles’s public life. During the hours of the great fire in London, and after it was subdued, himself and the Duke of York were indefatigable in their endeavours to check the evil, and lighten the misfortunes of the sufferers; and both Cla-

* Pope’s Life of Bishop Ward, p. 92.

† Preface to State Papers, p. 4.

Clarendon and Burnet assure us, that the calamity made a powerful, though transient, impression on the king's mind. This would be satisfactory, as far as such a natural impulse can be praised, were we not aware that (independently of the awakening influence of so tremendous a visitation) the Duke of York was suspected, by some, of being concerned in the fire; and that most of those who disbelieved so improbable a slander, still attributed it to the *Papists*, in whose imputed crime, his Majesty and the Duke could not more effectually avoid being implicated, than by the behaviour they adopted on this melancholy occasion.*

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

There are few men whose characters, like their countenances, are not marked by some peculiar feature, that affords a proof of their identity, under all the varying and dissimilar

* Continuation of Clarendon's Life, p. 675. Burnet's Hist. v. i. p. 229, et infra.

situations of human life—by some leading trait, which not only brings them within a particular class of moral agents, but enables the observer to determine the epithet by which their turn of mind may be designated. Buckingham, however, was one of the exceptions to this rule. Of him it might be truly said, “none but himself could be his parallel.” True to no passion, steady to no pursuit, enchained by no object, his conduct was such a tissue of flittings, starts, and vagaries, as rendered it impossible to analyze his mind, or to define him more rigorously, than by calling him

“A bold bad man, and Dæmogorgon named.”

Many artists have tried their skill upon the character of this *ignis fatuus*: Burnet, in terse and pithy prose, and Dryden, in caustic versification: Count Hamilton has “touched it with that slight delicacy which finishes, while it seems but to sketch;”^{*} and Pope, in his own harmonious numbers, has combined

^{*} Memoires de Grammont. Walpole’s Royal and Noble Authors, v. ii. p. 78.

a solemn moral, with a rapid glance at the elements of Buckingham's mind, and an affecting description of the closing scene of his career.

The Duke was "a man of noble presence," says Burnet. "He had a great liveliness of wit, and a peculiar faculty of turning all things into ridicule with bold figures and natural descriptions. He had no sort of literature, only he was drawn into chemistry; and, for some years, he thought he was very near finding the philosopher's stone; which had the effect that attends on all such men as he was, when they are drawn in, to lay out for it. He had no principles of religion, virtue, or friendship. Pleasure, frolic, or extravagant diversion, was all that he laid to heart. He was true to nothing; for he was not true to himself. He had no steadiness nor conduct. He could keep no secret, nor execute any design without spoiling it. He could never fix his thoughts, nor govern his estate, though then the greatest in England. He was bred about the king; and, for many years, he had a great ascendant over him; but

he spake of him, to all persons, with that contempt, that at last he drew a lasting disgrace upon himself: and he, at length, ruined both body and mind, fortune and reputation equally. The madness of vice appeared in his person in very eminent instances; since, at last, he became contemptible and poor, sickly and sunk in his parts, as well as in all other respects; so that his conversation was as much avoided, as ever it had been courted.*

Dryden, as the late Lord Orford remarks, caught Buckingham's "living likeness." His lines are as vigorous as they are severe; but they did not pass unnoticed, or unrevenged.†

* Hist. v. i. p. 100.

† The character of Zimri, in "*Absalom and Achitophel*." Buckingham took ample revenge for Dryden's satire, in his play of "*The Rehearsal*." *Zimri*, says Walpole, is an admirable portrait; but *Bayes*, an original creation. Dryden satirised Buckingham; but Villiers made Dryden satirise himself. An instance of astonishing quickness is related of this duke. Being present at the first representation of one of Dryden's pieces of heroic nonsense, where a lover says,

"My wound is great, because it is so small,"

the duke cried out,

'Then 'twould be greater, were it none at all.'

"Some of their chiefs were princes of the land :
 In the first rank of these did Zimri stand :
 A man so various, that he seem'd to be,
 Not one, but all mankind's epitome;
 Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
 Was every thing by starts, and nothing long;
 But in the course of one revolving moon,
 Was chymist, fidler, statesman, and buffoon :
 Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking,
 Besides ten thousand freaks that died in thinking.
 Blest madman, who could every hour employ
 With something new to wish, or to enjoy!
 Railing and praising were his usual themes;
 And both, to shew his judgment, in extremes :
 So over violent, or over civil,
 That every man with him was god or devil.
 In squandering wealth was his peculiar art :
 Nothing went unrewarded, but desert.
 Beggar'd by fools, whom still he found, too late,
 He had his jest, and they had his estate.
 He laugh'd himself from court; then sought relief
 By forming parties, but could ne'er be chief.
 For spite of him, the weight of business fell
 On Absalom, and wise Achitophel.
 Thus, wicked but in will, of means bereft,
 He left not faction, but of that was left."

The play was instantly damned.—Royal and Noble
 Authors, v. ii. p. 78. Buckingham's play of "The
 Rehearsal" seems to have obtained a higher popularity
 than it merits. "The Chances" is far superior to

The subject of Pope's lines is of a more striking nature than the delineation of the moral features of this eccentric man. They describe his *bed of death*, under circumstances peculiarly contrasted with the splendour and vivacity of a previous life of infinite profusion, thoughtlessness, and crime. After a long indulgence (for he lived till the age of sixty) in every species of guilt and expense; after having plotted to take away the life of the Duke of Ormond, and conspired against the fond master who protected him from the merited punishment of such an attempt; after having been raised to the highest dignities of the state, and again opposed his royal patron, and incurred his indignation; after having enjoyed an income of fifty thousand a-year, inhabited palaces, and had the homage of thousands; the items of his last worldly accounts were, comparative penury, desertion of friends, self-reproach, neglect, contempt, and oblivion.

“ Behold ! what blessings wealth to life can lend !
And see what comfort it affords our end !

In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half-hung,
The doors of plaster, and the walls of dung.

On once a flock-bed, but repair'd with straw,
 With tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw,
 The George and garter dangling from that bed,
 Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,
 Great Villiers lies—alas! how chang'd from him,
 That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim!
 Gallant and gay, in Cliefden's proud alcove,
 The bower of wanton Shrewsbury and love :^{*}
 Or just as gay at council, in a ring
 Of mimick'd statesmen, and their merry king.
 No wit to flatter, left of all his store!
 No fool to laugh at, which he valued more.
 There, victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
 And fame, this lord of useless thousands ends.†

The following anecdote is told of the duke's behaviour almost *articulo mortis*. It is, doubtless, characteristic of his previous levity

* The Countess of Shrewsbury, whom he seduced, and killed her Lord in a duel on her account. She is said to have been present at the combat, disguised as a page, and to have held the duke's horse, whilst he *honourably murdered* her husband!

† Epistle to Lord Bathurst, v. 297. The duke's death happened at a tenant's house at Kirby-Moorside in Yorkshire, (16th April, 1688,) after three days illness of ague and fever, from a cold, caught by sitting on the ground after a fox-chase. Biog. Dict. v. xii. p. 341. There is a very interesting Letter on this event, *Maty's Review*, Dec. 1783.

and profligacy ; but one would hope, for the honour of human nature, the accounts which attribute penitence and seriousness to his last hour may be nearer the truth.

When his Grace was dying, the Duke of Queensbury, going down to Scotland, heard of his situation, when within a few miles of the place of his confinement, and made him a visit. “ Will you not have a clergyman ? ” said the Duke of Queensbury. ‘ I look upon them,’ said Buckingham, ‘ to be a parcel of very silly fellows, who don’t trouble themselves about what they teach.’ “ Will you not have your chaplain ? ” (who was a nonconformist). ‘ No : these fellows always make me sick, with their whining and cant.’ The Duke of Q., who took it for granted that the dying man must be of some religion, and apprehending it might be the Popish faith, told him that there was a Roman Catholic lord in the neighbourhood, and begged that his chaplain might be summoned. ‘ No,’ (replied Villiers,) ‘ those rascals *eat G—d* ; but, if you know of any set of fellows who *eat the devil*, send for one of them quickly.” He desired to

be left alone; and died in about half an hour.*

COLONEL BLOOD.†

One of the most powerful sketches in "Peveril of the Peak" is the character of this notorious ruffian. But though the hardness of his dark heart, the ferocity of his manners, and the inconceivable impudence of his general bearing, are all touched with the force and spirit of Rembrandt or Salvator Rosa; yet there is no artist, whatever his imitative powers might be, who could reach the transcendent villany of the living man. Universal in crime, it is hard to say in what particular description of it he most excelled; but the desperate act

* From the Portfolio of a Man of Letters, Month. Mag. 1800, vol. ii. page 477. A very different account of the duke's exit is given in the Biog. Dict. vol. xii. page 342.

† Granger says, "he was not of the rank of a colonel."—Biog. Hist. vol. vi. page 15.

which rendered him most notorious in his own day, and has chiefly recommended him to the curiosity of after-times, was his attempt to steal the *regalia* from the Tower of London. Strype has given us the following very interesting account of this unparalleled transaction, together with a few other particulars of Blood's history.

“ But among all the memorable accidents that have happened in the Tower, hardly any history of our country can equal that cunning, audacious, and villanous attempt of one Blood, in King Charles the Second's time, in stealing the Crown, and his comrade the Globe, out of the safe place where they with the rest of the regalia were kept ; and carrying them out of the Tower, though they were discovered at last and seized. A faithful relation deserves to stand upon record ; and such a relation is this that follows, which I had from the favour of Mr. Edwards himself, the late keeper of the regalia.

“ About three weeks before this Blood made his attempt upon the Crown, he came to the Tower, in the habit of a parson, with a long

cloak, cassock, and canonical girdle, and brought a woman with him, whom he called his wife; although, in truth, his wife was then sick in Lancashire. This pretended wife desired to see the Crown; and having seen it, feigned to have a qualm come upon her stomach, and desired Mr. Edwards (who was keeper of the regalia) to send for some spirits, who immediately caused his wife to fetch some, whereof when she had drunk, she courteously invited her up stairs to repose herself upon a bed; which invitation she accepted: and soon recovered. At their departure, they seemed very thankful for this civility.

“About three or four days after, Blood came again to Mrs. Edwards, with a present of four pair of white gloves from his wife; and having thus begun the acquaintance, they made frequent visits to improve it; she professing that she should never sufficiently acknowledge her kindness.

“Having made some small respite of his compliments, he returned again, and said to Mrs. Edwards, that his wife could discourse of nothing but of the kindness of those good

people in the Tower. That she had long studied, and at length bethought herself of a handsome way of requital. ‘You have,’ said he, ‘a pretty gentlewoman to your daughter, and I have a young nephew who hath two or three hundred a-year land, and is at my disposal. If your daughter be free, and you approve of it, I will bring him hither to see her, and we will endeavour to make it a match.’

“This was easily assented to by old Mr. Edwards; who invited the parson to dine with him that day, and he as readily accepted of the invitation; who taking upon him to say grace, performed it with great devotion, and casting up his eyes, and concluding his long-winded grace with a hearty prayer for the king, queen, and royal family. After dinner he went to see the rooms, and seeing a handsome case of pistols hang there, he expressed a great desire to buy them, to present to a young lord, who was his neighbour; but his purpose probably was, to disarm the house against the time that he intended to put the design in execution.

“ At his departure (which was with a canonical benediction of the good company), he appointed a day and hour to bring his young nephew to his mistress ; and it was that very day that he made his attempt, viz. the 9th of May, about seven in the morning, A. D. 1673.

“ The old man was got up ready to receive his guest, and the daughter had put herself into her best dress to entertain her gallant ; when, behold, Parson Blood, with three more, came to the jewel-house, all armed with rapier blades in their canes, and every one a dagger and a pair of pocket-pistols. Two of his companions entered in with him, and the third staid at the door, it seems, for a watch. The daughter thought it not modest for her to come down till she was called, but she sent the maid to take a view of the company, and to bring her a description of the person of her gallant. The maid conceived that he was the intended bridegroom who staid at the door, because he was the youngest of the company ; and returned to her young mistress with the character that she had formed of his person.

“ Blood told Mr. Edwards that they would not go up stairs till his wife came, and desired him to shew his friends the Crown, to pass the time till then. As soon as they were entered the room where the Crown was kept, and the door (as usual) was shut behind them, they threw a cloak over the old man’s head, and clapped a gag into his mouth, which was a great plug of wood, with a small hole in the middle to take breath at. This was tied on with a waxed leather, which went round his neck. At the same time they fastened an iron hook to his nose, that no sound might pass from him that way neither.

“ When they had thus secured him from crying out, they told him that their resolution was to have the Crown, Globe, and Sceptre. And that, if he would quietly submit to it, they would spare his life, otherwise he was to expect no mercy. He thereupon forced himself to make all the noise he possibly could to be heard above; then they knocked him down with a wooden mallet, and told him, that if he would lie quietly they would spare his life, but if not, upon the next attempt to

discover them they would kill him, and pointed three daggers at his breast. But he strained himself to make the greater noise; whereupon they gave him nine or ten strokes more upon the head with the mallet, (for so many bruises were found upon the skull,) and stabbed him in the belly.

“Whereat the poor man, almost eighty years of age, fell, and lay some time entranced. One of them kneeled on the ground to try if he breathed; and not perceiving any breath come from him, said, ‘He is dead, I’ll warrant him.’ Mr. Edwards came a little to himself, heard his words, and conceived it best for him to be so thought, and lay quietly.

“Then one of them, named Parrot, put the Glóbe into his breeches; Blood held the Crown under his cloak; the third was designed to file the Sceptre in two, (because too long to carry,) and, when filed, it was to be put into a bag brought for that purpose.

“But before this could be done, young Mr. Edwards, (son of the old gentleman,) who had attended upon Sir John Talbot into Flanders, and upon his first landing in Eng-

land, was, with Sir John's leave, come away post to see his old father, chanced to arrive at the very instant that this was acting; and coming to the door, the person who stood centinel for the rest, asked him with whom he would speak? He made answer, he belonged to the house. But young Edwards perceiving by his question that he himself was a stranger, told him that if he had any business with his father, he would go and acquaint him with it; and so went up, where he was welcomed by his mother, wife, and sister.

“ In the mean time the centinel gave notice of the son's arrival, and they forthwith hasted away with the Crown and Globe, but left the Sceptre, not having time to file it. The old man, returning to himself, got upon his legs, pulled off the gag, (for they concluded him dead, and, surprised with the son's unexpected arrival, had omitted to tie his hands behind him,) and cried out, ‘ Treason, murder !’

“ The daughter, hearing him, hasted down, and seeing her father thus wounded, ran out upon the Tower Hill, and cried, ‘ Treason, the Crown is stolen !’ This gave the first

alarm ; and Blood and Parrot making more than ordinary haste, were observed to jog each other with their elbows as they went, which caused them to be suspected and pursued.

“ By this time young Mr. Edwards and Captain Beckman, upon the cry of their sister, were come down, and left their father likewise to run after the villains ; but they were advanced beyond the main guard, and the alarm being given loudly to the warder at the drawbridge, he put himself in posture to stop them. Blood came up first, and discharged a pistol at him ; the bullet (if any there were) missed him, but the powder or fear made him fall to the ground, whereby they got safe to the little warehouse gate, where one Sill, who had been a soldier under Cromwell, stood centinel ; who, although he saw the other warder shot, made no resistance. By whose cowardice or treachery the villains got over that drawbridge, and through the outward gate upon the wharf, and made all possible haste towards their horses, which attended at St. Katherine’s gate, called the Iron gate, crying themselves, as they ran,

‘ Stop the rogues.’ And they were by all thought innocent, he being in that grave canonical habit, till Captain Beckman got up to them. Blood discharged his second pistol at Captain Beckman’s head ; but he stooping down avoided the shot, and seized upon the rogue, who had the Crown under his cloak ; yet had Blood the impudence, although he saw himself a prisoner, to struggle a long while for the Crown ; and when it was wrested from him, said, ‘ It was a gallant attempt, however unsuccessful, for it was for a Crown.’

“ A servant belonging to Captain Sherburn seized upon Parrot, before Blood was taken.

“ There was such a consternation in all men, and so much confusion in the pursuit, that it was a wonder some innocent person had not suffered for the guilty ; for young Edwards overtaking one that was bloody in the scuffle, and supposing him to be one of those that had murdered his father, was going to run him through, had not Captain Beckman cried, ‘ Hold, he is none of them.’

“ And as Captain Beckman made more than ordinary haste in the pursuit, the guards

were going to fire at him, supposing him to be one of the rogues ; but one of them, who by good fortune knew him, cried out, ‘ Forbear, he is a friend.’

“ Blood and Parrot being both seized, (as hath been said,) Hunt, Blood’s son-in-law, leaped to horse, with two more of the conspirators, and rid far away ; but a cart standing empty in the street chanced to turn short, and Hunt run his head against a pole that stuck far out, but he, recovering his legs, and putting his foot in the stirrup, a cobbler running to enquire after the disaster, said, ‘ This is Tom Hunt, who was in that bloody attempt upon the person of the Duke of Ormond ; let us secure him.’ A constable being accidentally there, seized him upon that affirmation, and carried him before Justice Smith ; who, upon his confident denial to be Hunt, was about to let him go ; but the hue and cry coming, that the Crown was taken out of the Tower, he was committed to safe-custody.

“ Young Edwards proposed to Lieutenant Rainsford to mount some of his soldiers upon

the horses that were left, and send them to follow the rest that escaped ; but he bade him follow himself, if he would, it was his business ; and led the fellows' horses into the Tower, as forfeited to the lieutenant.

“ Hunt (as hath been said) was son-in-law to Blood, and trained up in his practices.

“ Parrot was a silk-dyer in Southwark ; and in the rebellion had been Major-General Harrison's lieutenant.

“ Blood was the son of a blacksmith in Ireland, a fellow that thought small villanies below him. One of his virtuous comrades having received sentence of death in Yorkshire for some crime, he rescued him out of the hands of the sheriff's men, as they were leading him to the gallows. He, with others, laid a design in Ireland to surprise the Castle of Dublin, and the magazine therein, and to usurp the government ; but being discovered by the Duke of Ormond the night before the intended execution, some of them were apprehended, and suffered as traitors. Whose death Blood, and the rest of the surviving rogues, bound themselves by solemn oath to revenge

upon the duke's person. This occasioned his third enterprize ; for he, with five or six more of his associates, (whereof Hunt was one,) well mounted, came one night up to his coach-side, before he came to his own gate, dwelling then at Albermarle House, took him out of his coach, forced him up behind one of the horsemen, and were riding away with him as far as Berkeley House ; where the duke threw himself off the horse, with the villain who had tied the duke fast to him. The rest turned back, discharging two pistols at the duke ; but taking their aim in the dark, missed him. By this time the neighbourhood was alarmed, and the rogues having work enough to save themselves, rid for it, and got away.

“ It was no small disrepute to that hellish contriver, amongst his comrades, to fail in a project which he had laid so sure, and represented to them so easy to be effected. Therefore to redeem his credit with them, he entered immediately upon the contrivance of another, that should fully recompense all former miscarriages, with an infallible prospect

of gain, and the reputation of a daring villany —which was that of sharing the regalia.

“ In the robustious struggle for the Crown, as was shewed before, the great pearl and a fair diamond fell off, and were lost for a while, with some other smaller stones ; but the pearl was found by Katherine Maddox, (a poor sweeping-woman to one of the warders,) and the diamond by a barber’s apprentice, and both faithfully restored. Other smaller stones were by several persons picked up and brought in. The fair Ballas ruby, belonging to the sceptre, was found in Parrot’s pocket ; so that not any considerable thing was wanting. The Crown only was bruised, and sent to repair.

“ Young Mr. Edwards went presently to Sir Gilbert Talbot, and gave him an account of all that had passed ; who instantly went to the king, and acquainted his Majesty with it. His Majesty commanded him to make haste to the Tower, to enquire how matters stood ; to take the examination of Blood and the rest ; and to return and report all to him. Sir Gilbert accordingly went, and found the prisoners (whose wounds had been already

dressed), with their keeper, in the White Tower. Blood lay in a corner, dogged and lowering, and would not give a word of answer to any one question.

“ His Majesty was, in the mean time, persuaded by some about him to hear the examination himself; and the prisoners were forthwith sent for to Whitehall. Nothing but that could have saved Blood from the gallows. But that which ought to have been his surer condemnation, proved to be his safety; for all men concluded that none but those who had the courage to adventure upon such a daring villany as that of the Crown, could be guilty of the practice upon a peer of that magnitude as was the Duke of Ormond, especially the parliament then sitting. Amongst other questions, therefore, it was thought fit to interrogate him, whether he had not a hand in that assault? for the authors of it were, as yet, altogether in the dark.

“ Blood, as if he had valued himself upon the action, and, possibly, suspecting that the king might have made some discovery of it

already, without any manner of scruple or hesitation, confessed he had. It was then asked him, who his associates were : he answered, he would never betray a friend's life, nor never deny a guilt in defense of his own.

“ It was next asked him what provocation he had to make so bold an assault upon the Duke of Ormond? He said, the duke had taken away his estate, and executed some of his friends ; and that he, and many others, had engaged themselves, by solemn oath, to revenge it.

“ And, lest any of his audacious villanies should lessen the romance of his life, by lying concealed in his examination about the Crown, he voluntarily confessed to the king (but whether truly or falsely, may very well endure a question, as I shall endeavour to shew anon) that he had been engaged in a design to kill his Majesty with a carbine, from out of the reeds by the Thames side, above Battersea; where he often went to swim : that the cause of this resolution, in himself and others, was his Majesty's severity over the consciences of the godly, in suppressing the freedom of their

religious assemblies : that, when he had taken his stand in the reeds, for that purpose, his heart was checked with an awe of Majesty ; and he did not only himself relent, but diverted the rest of his associates from the design.

“ He told his Majesty that he had, by these his confessions, laid himself sufficiently open to the law, and he might reasonably expect the utmost rigour of it ; for which he was (without much concern of his own) prepared. But, he said, withal, that the matter would not be of that indifference to his Majesty ; inas-much as there were hundreds of his friends, yet undiscovered, who were all bound to each other, by the indispensable oaths of conspirators, to revenge the death of any of the fraternity, upon those who should bring them to justice : which would expose his Majesty, and all his ministers to the daily fear and expectation of a massacre : but, on the other hand, if his Majesty would spare the lives of a few, he might oblige the hearts of many ; who (as they had been seen to do daring mischiefs) would be as bold, if received into

pardon and favour, to perform eminent services for the crown. And he pretended such an interest and sway among the fanatics, to dispose them to their fidelity, as though he had been their chosen general, and had them all entered in his muster-roll.

“In short, Blood and his associates were not only pardoned and set free, but the arch-villain himself had five hundred pounds per annum conferred upon him, in Ireland, and was admitted into all the privacy and intimacy of Court. Mr. Edwards had the grant of two hundred pounds, and his son one hundred pounds.

“Blood had no body but his own black deeds to advocate for him; yet thus he was rewarded: and although many solicited for old Mr. Edwards, and had raised their arguments from his fidelity, courage, and wounds received, yet all that could be obtained for him was a grant of two hundred pounds out of the exchequer, and one hundred pounds to his son, as before said: the payment whereof was so long delayed, and his surgeons calling upon him daily for satisfaction for

their drugs and pains, he was forced to sell his order for one hundred pounds ready money, and the son his for fifty pounds, and lived not long to enjoy the remainder; for he died within a year and a month after the wounds received.”*

The protection and favour thus bestowed upon a lawless ruffian, by an unworthy monarch, did not escape the lash of satire. Rochester, in his “History of Insipids,” wittily, but severely, alludes to the disgraceful circumstance, as well as the *disguise* which Blood assumed in his undertaking.

“BLOOD, that wears treason in his face,
Villain complete, in *parson's gown*,
How much he is at court in grace,
For stealing Ormond and the Crown!
Since loyalty does no man good,
Let's steal the King, and out-do BLOOD.”

How must such royal favour, so conferred, have mortified the spirit of the few men of honour about the court! more especially, when it was publicly known and felt, that a plea could not be more effectually urged to Charles

* Book i. p. 93, et infra.

II., than when it was enforced by the application of such a miscreant.*

SIR JEFFERY HUDSON.

Diminutive as this pigmy hero was in form, he occupies so large a space in the novel of "Peveril of the Peak," that it would be a mortal affront to his *manes*, not to collect together all the scattered fragments of his history which we can pick up, and introduce them into our *biographical illustrations* of this entertaining novel. The late Lord Orford is led into a little account of Jeffery by the

* Dr. Walter Pope, in his *Life of Bishop Ward*, informs us, that, Blood, being of a sudden become a great favourite at court, and the chief agent of the dissenters, brought the bishop a verbal message from the king not to molest them: upon which, he went to wait on his Majesty, and humbly represented to him, that there were only two troublesome nonconformists in his diocese, whom he doubted not, with his Majesty's permission, but that he should bring to their duty: and then he named them. *These are the very men*, said the king, *you must not meddle with*: to which he obeyed, letting the prosecution against them fall.—Granger's Biog. Hist. v. vi. p. 16.

mention of the figure of this dwarf, holding a dog by a string, in a landscape, and preserved in the palace at St James's.

He informs us, from Fuller's *Worthies*, and Wright's *Rutlandshire*, that Hudson was born at Oakham, in that county, in the year 1616. When he was about the age of seven or eight, (he continues,) being then but eighteen inches high, he was retained in the service of the Duke of Buckingham, who resided at Burleigh on the Hill. Soon after the marriage of Charles I., the king and queen being entertained at Burleigh, little Jeffery *was served up at table in a cold pie*, and presented by the dutchess to the queen, who kept him as her dwarf. From seven years of age till thirty, he never grew taller ; but, after thirty, he shot up to three feet nine inches, and there fixed. Jeffery became a considerable part of the entertainment of the court. Sir William Davenant wrote a poem, called *Jeffridos*, or a battle between him and a turkey-cock ;* and, in 1638, was published, a very small book,

* The scene is laid at Dunkirk ; and the midwife rescues him from the fury of his antagonist.

called "The New-Year's Gift," presented at court, from the Lady Parvula to Lord Minimus, (commonly called Little Jeffery,) her Majesty's servant, &c. written by Microphilus, with a little print of Jeffery prefixed. Before this period, little Jeffery was employed on a negotiation of great importance. He was sent to France, to fetch a midwife for the queen ; and, on his return with this gentlewoman, and her Majesty's dancing-master, and many rich presents to the queen, from her mother, Mary de Medici, was taken by the Dunkirkers.* Jeffery, thus made of consequence, grew to think himself really so. He had borne, with little temper, the teasings of the courtiers and domestics, and had many squabbles with the king's gigantic porter.†

* This was in 1630. Besides the present he was bringing for the queen, he lost to the value of two thousand five hundred pounds that he had recived in France, on his own account, from the queen-mother and ladies of that court.

† A bas-relief of this dwarf and giant is to be seen, fixed in the front of a house, near the end of Bagnio-court on the east side of Newgate-street. Probably, it was a sign. The porter's name was William Evans,

At last, being provoked by Mr. Crofts, a young gentleman of family, a challenge ensued, and Mr. Crofts coming to the rendezvous armed only with a squirt, the little creature was so enraged, that a real duel ensued, and the appointment being on horseback, with pistols, to put them more on a level, Jeffery, with the first fire, shot his antagonist dead. This happened in France, whither he had attended his mistress in her troubles. He was again taken prisoner by a Turkish rover, and sold into Barbary. Probably, however, he did not long remain in slavery; for, at the beginning of the civil wars, he was made a captain in the royal army; and, in 1644, attended the queen to France, where he remained till the restoration. At length, upon the suspicion of his being privy to the Popish plot, he was taken up, in 1682, and confined in the Gate-house, Westminster; where he ended his life, in the sixty-third year of his age.†

his height was seven feet and a half.—Pennant's London, p. 219.

† Walpole's Anec. Paint. v. ii. p. 14.

To these particulars of little Jeffery's history, Mr. Granger adds, that the king's gigantic porter once *drew him out of his pocket*, in a masque at court, to the surprise of all the spectators : and that, in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford are still preserved his waistcoat, breeches, and stockings. The former of blue satin, slashed, and ornamented with pinked white silk. The two latter are of one piece of blue satin.*

* Biog. Hist. vol. iii. page 246. A very curious historical account of two of the characters in "Peveril of the Peak," William and Edward Christian, will be found in "The Literary Gazettes" of April and May, 1823 :—a periodical publication, by the bye, well deserving the popularity it enjoys, for the variety and general interest of its contents ; the ability of its criticisms on the lighter literature of the age ; and, above all, for the spirit of candour, and good-humour, and good sense, in which it exercises its delicate functions.

Miscellaneous Illustrations.

THE COURT OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

Dr. Joseph Warton, in his remarks on those lines of Pope, in his "Essay on Criticism,"

"When love was all an easy monarch's care,
"Seldom at council, never in a war,"

observes, that the dissolute reign of Charles the Second justly deserved the satirical proscription in this passage. Under the notion of laughing at the absurd austerities of the Puritans, it became the mode to run into the contrary extreme, and to ridicule real religion and unaffected virtue.* The king, during

* "The merry monarch" and his courtiers seem to have had a peculiar zest for any joke against religion, or its ministers. Buckingham, whose impiety was

his exile, had seen and admired the splendour of the court of Louis XIV., and endeavoured to introduce the same luxury into the English court.† It was not the adoption or imitation, however, of the manners of the French capital

fully equal to his wit, frequently played the first fiddle upon these *facetious* occasions. "It is certain," says Mr. Granger, "from what Lord Clarendon tells us, that he often diverted himself with the preachers at court. The following story was told us as a fact by Mr. Dibdin, an intimate friend of Mr. Prior: a young divine, of great modesty, who preached before the king on Psalm cxxxix. 13, 'I am fearfully and wonderfully made,' was the innocent occasion of much mirth in the royal chapel. This young man, who is supposed to have been in a perspiration, more from apprehension than the warmth of the season, happened, before he named his text, to wipe his face with one of his hands, on which was a new glove, and with the dye of it unluckily blacked himself. The Duke of Buckingham, on comparing the words of the text with the figure of the preacher, was instantly seized with a fit of laughter, in which he was followed by Sir Henry Bennet, and several other courtiers; nor was the king himself, who thoroughly enjoyed a joke of this kind, able to keep his countenance."—Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iv. p. 148, edit. 1824.

† Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, vol. i. page 153.

alone, that rendered the court of Charles the Second such a scene of vice as can hardly be conceived by an Englishman, who, through the long reign of our late venerable monarch, saw nothing in the conduct of the sovereign, or about his throne, but the appearance of virtue, sobriety, and decorum: the depraved morals of Charles and his courtiers date long before his restoration to his paternal crown. From the very commencement of the disturbances, which resulted in the decapitation of Charles the First, the manners of the cavaliers had been characterized by an awful profligacy, adopted as a mark of distinction between themselves and the precise, formal, and austere commonwealth's men—their opponents in the terrible struggle. There was no height of profaneness to which they did not aspire, in order to evince their loyalty; no excess of vice which they did not master, that they might shew their contempt and detestation of the character and manners of the Puritans. Overcome, at length, and dispersed, they carried their habits of wickedness into the places of their exile; and when, by

an unexpected change in their affairs, they returned to their country, they not only brought back with them all the varied forms of iniquity which they had exported, but every refinement in vice, also, which they had found and made their own in foreign capitals; so that, shortly after the restoration, the English court might boast itself as the focal point, or general dépôt, of all the bad morals of civilized Europe. The master or moving spirit of this grand system of depravity was Majesty himself;* who, if we may credit the sagacity

* The inconsistency between the conduct and the councils of Charles is very striking. At the moment when the court presented a scene of the most abandoned impiety and vice, and theatrical compositions were of so gross a description, that no woman who had the slightest regard for her reputation could attend the playhouses *without a mask*, a royal proclamation issued from the throne, directed against "vicious, debauched, and profane persons;" and another, enjoining the "strict observance of Lent."—D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, second series, vol. iii. page 206. Another writer observes, "It is a singular circumstance, that an Act, allowing *dancing*, &c. on a *Sunday*, should have passed in the reign of Charles the First, who, his greatest enemies must allow, had, at least, every exterior of religion; and

of the wicked and witty Shaftesbury,† (and he was not dull in his estimates of character,) maintained a pre-eminence in profligacy, equal to his superiority in rank. “My lord,” said Charles to this peer, “do you not think that you are the wickedest man in England?” “Of a *subject*, I believe I am, and please your Majesty.” And another contemporary of the king’s, who viewed men and things with a

that an Act for *keeping holy the Sabbath-day* should be passed in the reign of Charles the Second, who, his best friends must acknowledge, had no more religion, nor regard to its forms, than one of his own coach-horses.”—Portfolio of a Man of Letters, Mon. Mag. 1801, page 45.

† Shaftesbury was not only pleasant, but caustic, in his wit. The Duke of York had nettled him by some taunting expressions, and the repetition of certain “ugly names” bestowed upon him out of doors. His reply was, “I care not what *names* the people call me, so they be not *papist* or *coward* ;” and left the application of the answer to the duke. The same nobleman said of Lord Goring, (another paragon of wickedness,) that he “turned wantonness into riot, and riot into madness.” Goring, after a career of consummate depravity, died a Dominican friar in a Spanish convent.

clearness equal to his lordship's, though through an infinitely different medium, gives, in two pithy sentences, such an outline of the royal turpitude, as may satisfy us that Charles was without a rival in this respect. "He delivered himself up" (says Burnet, in his character of Charles before quoted) "to the most enormous course of vice, without any sort of restraint, even from the consideration of the nearest relations. The most studied extravagancies that way seemed, to the very last, to be much delighted in, and pursued by him."*

When to the force of such an example in so high a quarter, we add the attractive manners of the king, his real carelessness, gaiety, and ease, and his dextrous affability, and admirably affected good-humour, we cannot be surprised that the licentiousness of *Old Rowley*† should have infected by far the

* History of his own Times, vol. i. page 615.

† The author of *Peveril* adopted this nick-name for Charles, from an anecdote given by a contemporary writer. "There was," says he, "an *old goat* thus called, that used to run about the privy-garden,

greater proportion of those who came in contact with him. There must, in truth, have been something that quieted vigilance and disarmed acrimony, in witnessing the pleasing amusements of his leisure hour, when he was sauntering up and down St. James's Park, whose avenues and canal he planted and excavated, surrounded by his boon companions and little dogs, (the honester and more harmless *spaniels* of the two,) "cracking jokes," and reciprocating witticisms, with a group of *non-chalence* courtiers; or addressing, with apparent familiarity, those whom he encountered of a subordinate order. Nor could an indifferent spectator have seen him feeding his ducks, that followed him with noisy quackings, or giving crumbs to his numerous little

a great favourite with the domestics, from his familiarity and good-humour. On account of these, and other qualities, the king's resemblance to the bearded animal, suggested the propriety of calling the former by the same name. The person who affirmed this was grandson to a secretary of state, who knew all that concerned the king, the garden, and the goat."—*Portfolio of a Man of Letters*, *Mon. Mag.* vol. ii. page 437.

birds, which hung on every tree in the Birdcage walk,* without some feeling of kindness

* They who wish to lift the veil, and contemplate the particulars of the court licentiousness, may consult "Rochester's Satires," Butler's "Court Burlesqued," and "Memoirs of the Count de Grammont." Chiffinch, who makes so conspicuous a figure in "Peveril of the Peak," was one of the pages of the bedchamber to Charles II., and keeper of the king's cabinet closet. Wood, in enumerating the king's supper companions, says, "they met either in the lodgings of Louise Dutchess of Portsmouth, or in those of Chiffinch, near the back stairs, or in the apartment of Eleanor Gwynne, or that of Baptist May; but he losing his credit, Chiffinch had the greatest trust among them." So great was the confidence reposed in him, that he was the receiver of the secret pensions paid by the Court of France to the King of England. He was, also, the person who was entrusted to introduce Huddleston, a popish priest, to Charles the Second on his death-bed, for the purpose of giving him extreme unction.—Burnet's Hist. vol. i. p. 601. Thomas Killegrew (for some time envoy at Venice) was another of Charles's boon companions, enlivening the hilarious hour with his drollery and repartee. Though loose in principle and practice, he had still some "method in his madness;" and occasionally made his wit "the stalking horse" to good sense and sober advice. Perceiving, with regret, Charles's total neglect of all business, he took the following method of conveying a hint to

towards the man who could merge his high estate in such condescending manners and common-life gratifications. The atmosphere of courtesy and good-humour is of a lulling nature : we suspect no harm while we breathe it. The hilarity of Charles made all around him jocund; and vice itself was stripped, in some measure, of its repelling deformity, and rendered inviting, by the unstudied graces with which he cloathed his profligacy. Under such auspices, it will not excite surprise that Whitehall, the residence of Majesty, should exhibit the appearance of a *Pandæmonium*, where,

“ Far within,

And in their own dimensions, like themselves,
The great seraphic lords

In close recess and secret conclave sat ;”

him of the impropriety and danger of such a negligence. He dressed himself in a pilgrim's habit, went into the king's chamber, and told him that he hated himself and the world ; that he was resolved immediately to leave it, and was then entering upon a pilgrimage to hell. The king asked him what he proposed to do there. He said, to speak to the devil, to send Oliver Cromwell to take care of the English government, as he had observed, with regret, that his successor was always employed in other business. —Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. v. p. 190.

where the king, and Buckingham, and Rochester, and Shaftesbury, and Mulgrave, and Buckhurst, and other "demigods" of a like nature, attended by the ministers of their pleasures, May, and young Killegrew, and Saville, and Sheppard, and Rogers, and Chiffinch,* corrupted themselves, and corrupting each other, invented and matured a system of vice hitherto unimagined in the English court ; which quickly spreading itself beyond the walls of the palace, infected the whole metropolis, and produced, throughout a wide circumference around it, such a scene of boundless libertinism, as appeared to threaten the very existence of social principle and moral order. "A spirit of extravagant joy," says Burnet, "spread over the nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety ; all ended in entertainment and drunkenness, which overrun the three kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals."† But the worst circum-

* Wood's *Athen. Ox.* ii. coll 1039; and Clarendon's *Continuation*, fol. 338, 355, 438.

† *Hist.* vol. ii. p. 93.

stance of this general moral pestilence was, that it tainted the *female character*; thus blasting the promise of the succeeding generation, by vitiating the fountain from whence all good principles, religious feelings, and amiable tendencies, flow in upon the early mind. It is not possible, says a modern writer, to imagine a greater contrast than that between the women whose characters are pourtrayed in the Memoirs of the Count de Grammont, and those, we will not say of Elizabeth's, or of her father's, but of the last reign—such, for example, as the Countess of Pembroke, Lady Fanshawe, and Mrs. Hutchinson, who were still living to lament and wonder at the shameless profligacy of their countrywomen. Sir John Reresby tells us Charles had this for his excuse—the women seemed to be the aggressors; and adds, “I have since heard the king say, they would sometimes offer themselves to his embraces.”*

* See an able and interesting article on “Burnet's History of his own Times,” in the Quarterly Review, No. lvii., said to be the production of Dr. Southey's indefatigable pen.

Even the most correct females of the day appear to have suffered in delicacy of moral feeling, from the loose principles which were avowed, and the vicious practices which were gloried in, by the stars of rank and fashion. Lady Grace Gethin, an amiable young lady, who died a wife at the age of twenty years, herself pure in heart, and elevated in principle for the period in which she lived, discusses in her works whether it were more advisable to have for a husband *a general lover*, or one attached to only *a single mistress, besides his wife*, and decides in favour of the dissipated spouse.* But all this was to be expected from the manners of the *penetralia* at Whitehall, where the most abominable orgies were practised in the fair face of day; and the unfortunate queen, surrounded by such characters as the Countess of Castlemaine, Mrs. Kirk, Mrs. Killegrew, and others of a like description, was compelled to accept the services, and witness the licentiousness, of female libertines, still more shameless than their royal and titled gallants.†

* D'Israeli's *Cur. Lit.* v. iii. p. 283, edit. 1817.

† The celebrated Nell Gwynne, though high in the

Happily, the intercourse between the distant parts of the kingdom and the metropolis was too infrequent to allow the infection of female worthlessness to become universal ; but every spot connected with the court, and its place of residence, had to deplore the immodesty of

king's favour, never obtained the honour of a residence in Whitehall : probably, on account of her original humble state, which was that of an orange-girl. She lived, Mr. Pennant says, in what was then called Pall-Mall. The back room of her house, on the ground-floor, was, within memory, entirely of *looking-glass*, as the *ceiling*, also, was said to have been. It was the first good house, on the left hand of St. James's-square, as you enter from Pall-Mall. Over the chimney was her picture ; and that of her sister was in the third room.—London, p. 101. In Mr. Pennant's time, this house belonged to Thomas Brand, esq ; of the Hoo in Hertfordshire. Nell had much good-nature, and some wit. As she was going through the city, she saw a pair of bailiffs hurrying a poor clergyman to prison. Ordering her carriage to stop, she enquired the circumstances of the case ; and, finding it to be one of real distress, she immediately discharged the debt, and liberated the prisoner. On another occasion, as she was driving through Oxford, the populace, mistaking her for the Dutchess of Portsmouth, began grossly to insult her. Apprehending, in a moment, the error, she, with great

that sex, who, not only derive their most irresistible charms from delicacy of feeling, and "sanctity of manners," but who, if they cast away their virtue, part with the talisman best calculated to excite all that is honourable, and worthy, and generous, in thought and action, in the male character.

This unexampled depravity of the English court had subsisted for nearly a quarter of a century, when it was suddenly checked by a striking visitation. Evelyn has recorded it, in his Diary, in a very impressive way. He had already made this entry, under January the 25th: "I saw this evening such a scene of profuse gaming, and the king, in the midst of his three concubines, as I had never before presence of mind, thrust her head out of the coach-window, and exclaimed, with her usual vivacity and good-humour, "Pray, good people, be civil: I am the *Protestant w—c*." The consequence was, (as she had anticipated,) a general huzza, and benediction, from the assembled mob.

Charles was so deficient in common decency, as to hold his levees, occasionally, at the apartments of this lady and his other mistresses. It is creditable to the memory of Southampton and Clarendon, that they declined attending upon such occasions.

seen: luxurious dallying and profaneness.”^a
 In little better than a *week* from this date, he was assisting at the proclamation of the successor of Charles II; who, in the interval, had been hurried from existence; and inserts the following note, in the same memorandum book: “I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God, (it being Sunday evening,) which this day se’nnight I was witness to: the king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, &c.; a French boy singing songs, in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers, and other dissolute persons, were at basset, round a large table, a bank of at least two thousand in gold before them; upon which, two gentlemen, who were with me, made reflections with astonishment. *Six days after, was all in dust!*”

From this moment, the court of England assumed a better aspect. James II., though far from being a moral man, was still not open in his vices, and discountenanced all public

breaches of decorum about his person. William III., serious, virtuous, and religious, in himself, encouraged, by example, as well as authority, the growth of piety, and the general appearance of order and sobriety: and, the manners of Ann's court would naturally model themselves according to her own pure and amiable character. Thus established, the respectability and dignity of the English court have, for nearly a century and a half, been a theme of praise, with those who have successively contemplated its manners. Nor shall we be guilty of undue partiality, if we attribute to it a character, during all that period, of higher virtue, decency, and decorum, than can be claimed, by any other seat of royal power, and princely splendour, throughout Europe.

It is a fact, equally notorious and consolatory, to those who respect religion and virtue, that Providence never leaves itself without a witness in their behalf; that, when their interests are endangered, by "the overflowings of ungodliness," a strength, proportioned to their jeopardy, and sufficient for

their defence, is called forth, and their light is made to shine through the moral darkness, with greater lustre than if it had not been partially obscured. The reign of Charles II. affords an especial proof of the truth of this observation. Never had religion and morals been so seriously assailed, as at this licentious period. All that is good and great in human character, was publicly ridiculed and despised; the doctrines of faith were attacked by the sceptic; and the precepts of the gospel defied by the reprobate: "principalities and powers" ranged themselves under the banners of infidelity and practical atheism; and "spiritual wickedness in high places" authorised and exemplified the habitual breach of every religious and moral sanction. But, an instrument had been provided to stem this tremendous torrent of iniquity; and that instrument was the *Clergy of the Established Church*. An illustrious band of divines came forwards to vindicate the insulted cause of piety and virtue: they placed themselves between the living and the dead, and shook from their censers the hallowed perfume that checked the

march of the pestilence, and purified the atmosphere which it had poisoned. Prelates, and dignitaries, and private divines, were alike zealous and efficient, in the great labour of reviving the influence of holiness and moral righteousness; in demonstrating the truth, and manifesting the obligations, of the christian faith. It was then, that Archbishop Sheldon encountered and defeated the pernicious Hobbes; that Cosin bishop of Durham illustrated "The Canon of the Holy Scripture;" that Bishop Sanderson enlisted his deep, but clear, casuistry in the service of revealed religion; that the philosophical Bishop Wilkins demonstrated "The Principles and Duties of Natural Religion;" that the profoundly learned Bishop Pearson explained and enforced the points of apostolic faith; that the incomparable Bishop Jeremy Taylor offered up all his eloquence, and erudition, and richness of fancy, at the foot of the Cross; that Barrow poured forth his exuberant genius, and devoted his vigorous, acute, and metaphysical intellect to the corroboration of faith, and the diffusion of morality; that Hyde, and Spencer, and Pecock, and

Lightfoot, and Castel, brought forwards their vast stores of oriental learning, to explain the difficulties, clear the obscurities, and illustrate the beauties, of the sacred writings; that Cudworth unfolded his "True Intellectual System;" and, that the pious and benevolent Sherlock (uncle to the truly evangelical Bishop Wilson) pourtrayed in his "Practical Christian," and exemplified in his useful life, the proper fruits of faith, the beauty of holiness, and the happiness of virtue. To the lasting credit of our Church be it spoken, that the labours of these pious, sincere, and able divines, and their immediate followers in the same glorious path, were blessed with complete success; atheism was overwhelmed, infidelity silenced; and profligacy shamed; and the impress of religion, morality, decency, and sobriety, so deeply stamped upon the English character, as, we trust, will render these graces its peculiar distinguishing marks, to the latest future ages.

NOTE OMITTED.—"So prone to be imaginative," page 181, vol. ii. The visionary appearances, which, like Banquo's ghost present themselves, not unfrequently, to the roused and wounded conscience, have furnished rich materials for the poet's purposes, both in ancient and modern times. But, we do not recollect, that any bard of the present day has made a more happy use of these "accusing spirits," than the Rev. W. L. Bowles, in his beautiful "Ellen Gray, or Dead Maiden's Curse," oct. Archibald Constable, Edinburgh, 1823. The following extract, we conceive, will be thought to justify this remark :

In foreign lands, in darkness and in light,
 The same dread spectre stood before his sight.
 If slumber came, his aching lids to close,
 Funereal forms in sad procession rose.
 Sometimes he dream'd that every grief was pass'd,
 Ellen had long been lost—was found at last,
 And now she smiled as when in early life—
 The morn was come, when she should be his wife :
 The maids were dress'd in white, and all were gay ;
 And the bells rang for Ellen's wedding-day !
 Then, wherefore sad ? A chill comes o'er his soul—
 Hark ! the glad bells have sunk into a toll !
 A slow, deep toll—and lo ! a sable train
 Of mourners, moving to the village fane !—

A coffin now is laid in holy ground,
That heavily returns its hollow sound,
When the first earth upon its lid is thrown :
The hollow sound is changed into a groan :
And rising with wan cheek, and dripping hair,
And moving lips, and eyes of ghastly stare,
A figure issues ! ah, it comes more near !
'Tis Ellen ! and that " book " with many a tear
Is wet, which, with her fingers long and cold,
He sees her to the glimm'ring moon unfold !
Her icy hand is laid upon his heart !
Gasping, he wakes—and, with convulsive start,
He gazes round—moonlight is on the tide—
The passing keel is scarcely heard to glide—
Ah ! there the spectre goes—with frenzied look
He shrieks, " Oh, shut, dear Ellen, shut the book.'
Now to the ocean's verge the phantom flies !
And hark ! far off the lessening laughter dies.

CONCLUSION.

OUR "Illustrations" of Novels by the Author of *Waverley* are now closed. All that remains for us, is, to make some slight observations on those stories which have not been the subjects of our particular notice ; and to venture a few general remarks on the works at large, and on the nature of that influence which they are calculated to exercise on public *taste, feeling, and sentiment.*

It is no very easy task to determine, on principles of criticism, to which of our author's various novels the highest praise should, in justice, be awarded. They evince so much splendour of genius, fertility of invention, copiousness of diction, and richness of comparison and simile, that, as those of higher cast are successively read, each appears to deserve a preference over its fellows. If

the palm be conceded to **WAVERLEY**, it must, at the same time, be admitted, that this work is the *best*, only because it was the *first*. It may claim, indeed, the freshness and novelty of spring, but there are others which surpass it in summer brilliancy, in autumnal richness, and in the dark sublimities of winter. Its *characters* are more striking, perhaps, than those of any other of the after works ; but the reason is, that they had been hitherto undrawn ; were perfectly original ; and had no likeness to which they could be traced, except living nature. Its local *descriptions* may be more captivating ; but it is because they here, for the first time, meet the eye, and unfold beauties, to which even the fancy had been before a stranger.

GUY MANNERING, the next in this extraordinary series of productions, is a work of a different complexion to that of its predecessor ; less correct, but more diversified ; and, for the most part, cheerful, buoyant, and romantic. It has, however, its dark passages of prodigious force. The whole character of *Meg Merrilies*

is truly Siddonian ; her death strikingly tragic ; and the end of Glossin, and Dirk Hatterick, frightfully impressive.

The character of Edie Ochiltree, "the pauky auld carle," heretofore so well known in Scotland,* would have redeemed a work whose merits are more equivocal than those of the *ANTIQUARY*. It is a whole-length miniature ; solitary, indeed, in excellence, but making ample amends, in itself, for the tameness of some, and the extravagance of others, of its companions.

ROB ROY captivates the attention, by the quick succession of its adventures ; the complexity of its incidents ; and, above all, by the noble bearing of the gallant mountaineer ; and the life, spirit, and generosity, of its delightful heroine. It is to be regretted, however, that the interest of such a well-told tale should be lowered by a fault which might have been avoided with the greatest ease—the

* See "The Gaberlunzie Man," a Scottish song in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poems*, v. ii. p. 60.

intimation, in the commencement of the work, of the death of the character who is intended to excite the most pleasing, if not the most intense, feelings, through the whole course of the narrative. The first object of an imaginative writer is, to produce that delusion of the mind, which identifies the reader with the characters and events of the tale; which seduces him into the momentary belief of the presence of the persons in whom he is interested, and of the visible occurrence of the circumstances with which he is busied. Where this is effected, he feels all the pleasure of a living intimacy with both; and, though it may be necessary, to the plot of the author's story, that one or more of its actors should, at the conclusion, be consigned to the tomb; yet the reader, till he reaches its close, has still the gratifying impression, that he is at present engaged with existing beings, with whom he can reciprocate his feelings, and on whom he can hang his affections. But very different is the effect on his mind, where a previous notice announces to him that the character is already no more, which he is called upon to

love or admire. The dream of fancy which realises the fiction, is at once darkened by a cloud that shrouds it to the last. Those warm impulses, and agreeable associations, which can only be awakened by the lovely *living* subject, must either be dormant and unsummoned, or, if excited, are instantly chilled by the painful thought, that the imaginary being is no longer an object either of sentiment or feeling. As far as regards the novel before us, the omission of the insinuation of Diana Vernon being dead at the time of the recital; or, a single sentence implying that she was still in life, and participating with the narrator in the repose of tranquil years, after a troubled and eventful career; would have thrown sunshine on every incident in which this delightful character is concerned, and have precluded the impression of sadness and regret, that is now connected with every mention of her name.

The **BLACK DWARF** is a coin of a small but bright surface, evidently minted by the same powerful hand which manufactured the pre-

ceding novels. The story involves much improbability, but teems with such frequent expositions of simple nature, and pure human feelings, as invest it with a semblance of truth, that charms the imagination into a ready belief of the reality of the narrative. One passage of affecting simplicity is, perhaps, without a rival in this department of English composition, unless it be the scene in the Vicar of Wakefield, where, in the prison, (after the doctor's struggle with his tumultuous feelings, on his son George's committal for murder,) he prostrates his soul in submission to the Divine dispensations. Hobbie is rushing out to recover, or revenge, his captured love. "A true friend, indeed: God bless him!" exclaimed Hobbie, "let's on and away, and take the chase after him." "O, my child, before you run on danger, let me but hear you say, His will be done!" "Urge me not, mother: not now." He was rushing out, when, looking back, he observed his grandmother make a mute attitude of affliction. He turned hastily, threw himself into her arms, and said—"Yes, mother, I *can* say, *His* will be done, since it

will comfort you.” ‘ May *He* go forth—may *He* go forth with you, my dear bairn; and O, may He give you cause to say, on your return, His name be praised!’”

The tale of OLD MORTALITY would, unquestionably, be the best of our author's productions, if it were not almost as defective in taste, as it is paramount in power. Nothing can exceed the vivacity of its descriptions, the energy of its diction, and the dreadfulness of its pathos: but, from beginning to end, it is all gloom, sadness, and horror, with no bright point to exhilarate the spirit, and relieve the mind. When Mrs. Sheridan, the authoress of the “Memoirs of Miss Sydney Biddulph,” sent the manuscript of her work to Dr. Johnson, the sage read and returned it to the lady, with this observation: “I know not, Madam, that you have a right, upon *moral principles*, to make your readers suffer so much.”* Whether the same doubt will apply to the novel under consideration, we will not take upon us to determine; but, as far as *taste*

* Watkins's Memoirs of R. B. Sheridan, v. i. p. 79.

is concerned, there can be no doubt, that a long, unbroken, fictitious narrative of human woes is not only unpleasant, but revolting to it; more especially, when such images are presented and dwelt upon, as youth and beauty emaciated by famine, in the case of Edith Bellenden, after the siege of the Tower of Tulhietudlem; or, as sincere, though wild, enthusiasm, suffering, but defying, the most horrid punishment, in the picture of Macbriar, submitted to the question, in the face of the court at Edinburgh.

But, if our author stand acquitted of infringing a moral principle, in thus rendering fiction the instrument of torture to feeling, he cannot, we think, escape the more serious charge of violating truth and justice, in the novel of *Old Mortality*, by the character which he has given of the Covenanters, and the attributes with which he has invested them.

The fact, indeed, is, that piety in itself is not picturesque: it may "point a moral," but it will not "adorn a tale." To be rendered striking, it must be caricatured; and the author has had recourse to the most un-

justifiable misrepresentation of manners, and motives, and actions, in order to raise that laugh, or excite that indignation, against these religionists, which naked facts and real events could never have generated. Surely he must have known, and ought to have acknowledged, that, while fanaticism and fury inflamed some individuals of the number, such as *Cameron*, and *Hackstoun*, and *Cargill*, and *Hall*, the generality of them, more especially of the persecuted Presbyterians, were men of sobriety and peace. Unquestionably, he was aware that the most atrocious act committed by them (the murder of Archbishop Sharp) was not, as he implies, a premeditated one, but a deed of hasty vengeance, the result of a casual meeting between some of the most inflamed Cameronians (who were already outlawed, and hunted like beasts of prey) and this unworthy prelate, one of their most ferocious persecutors. It must have been in his recollection, that arms were not resorted to by the Covenanters, till the cruelties inflicted on them had become altogether intolerable; and the Crown had forfeited all claim to their alle-

giance, by trampling on those rights of conscience, property, and person, the protection of which, on the part of the governor, is the only rational foundation of civil obedience. He must have been sensible, while he was ridiculing some of these unfortunate but high-principled men, and inspiring disgust against others, that the world had not, for ages, seen a great body of people more devoted to God, more sincere in their faith, more holy in their lives, or more inoffensive in their manners, till they were goaded into madness by

“ Lean famine, quart’ring steel, and climbing fire :”

and should have felt, that, however mistaken in opinion, or eccentric in conduct, many of them might have been, yet the greatness of their sufferings, and the heroic fortitude with which they were endured, if they could not awaken commiseration and respect, ought, at least, to have shielded them from derision and calumny. It is no trifling aggravation of the author’s fault, also, that to heighten the absurdity or turpitude of the Covenanters in the opinion of his reader, he has attributed

to their *persecutors* traits of character of the most opposite description ; and while he represents the conscientious sufferer, *M'Kail*, under the name of *Macbriar*, speaking and acting through his life, and in his death, as a wild and furious fanatic ; he arrays *Claverhouse* with all those graces of person and manners, which ever attract regard, if they do not conciliate esteem. But how contradictory to all this is the real fact ! The former, when he was " hunted to the death," breathed his last sigh with these feelings in his heart, and these expressions on his lips—" Farewell, sun, and moon, and stars ! farewell, kindred and friends ! farewell, world and time ! farewell, weak and frail body ! Welcome, eternity ! welcome, angels and saints ! welcome, Saviour of the world ! and welcome, God the judge of all !" And *Cargill*, another victim of the same description, thus addressed his fellow prisoners, when about to suffer—" Dear friends ! notwithstanding the unjustness of your sentence, go not into eternity with indignation against your enemies on your own account. Neither let the goodness of the cause which ye suffer for,

be the foundation of your confidence in God; for were the action never so good, and performed without the least failing, (which is not incident to human infirmity,) it could never be a cause of obtaining mercy." Let us compare these sentiments and this behaviour with one among the many bloody deeds of the courteous and attractive *Claverhouse*; and then determine, whether the different parties have had common poetical justice awarded to them in the tale of "Old Mortality." "In the beginning of May, 1685, Alexander Peden came to the house of John Brown and Marion Weir, whom he married before he went to Ireland, where he staid all night; and in the morning, when he took farewell, he came out of the door, saying to himself, 'Poor woman! a fearful morning!' twice over; 'a dark misty morning!' The next morning, between five and six hours, the said John Brown, having performed the worship of God in his family, was going, with a spade in his hand, to make ready some peat ground; the mist being very dark, he knew not, until cruel and bloody *Claverhouse* compassed him with three troops

of horse, brought him to his house, and there examined him; who, though he was a man of a stammering speech, yet answered him distinctly and solidly; which made Claverhouse to examine those whom he had taken to be his guides across the muirs, if ever they heard him preach? They answered, 'No, no, he was never a preacher.' He said, 'If he has never preached, meikle he has prayed in his time.' He said to John, 'Go to your prayers, for you shall immediately die.' When he was praying, Claverhouse interrupted him three times: one time that he stopt him, he was pleading that the Lord would spare a remnant, and not make a full end in the day of his anger. Claverhouse said, 'I gave you time to pray, and you are beginning to preach.' He turned about upon his knees, and said, 'Sir, you know neither the nature of preaching or praying, that call this preaching;' then continued without confusion. When ended, Claverhouse said, 'Take good-night of your wife and children.' His wife standing by, with her child in her arms that she had brought forth unto him, and another child of

his first wife's, he came to her, and said, ' Now, Marion, the day is come that I told you would come, when I first spake to you of marrying me.' She said, ' Indeed, John, I can willingly part with you.' ' Then,' he said, ' this is all I desire: I have no more to do but die.' He kissed his wife and bairns, and wished purchased and promised blessings to be multiplied upon them, and his blessing. Claverhouse ordered six soldiers to shoot him: the most part of the bullets came upon his head, which scattered his brains upon the ground. Claverhouse said to his wife, ' What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?' She said, ' I ever thought much of him, and now as much ever.' He said, ' It were justice to lay thee beside him.' She said, ' If ye were permitted, I doubt not but your cruelty would go that length; but how will ye make answer for this morning's work?' He said, ' To man I can be answerable; and for God, I will take him in my own hand.' Claverhouse mounted his horse, and marched, and left her with the corpse of her dead husband lying there: she set the bairn on the ground, and

gathered his brains, and tied up his head, and straighted his body, and covered him in her plaid; and sat down, and wept over him.”*

THE HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN deserves the character of *simplex munditiis* better, perhaps, than any other of our author's works. It is more tender and domestic; appealing to the heart and affections, in the most gentle, but irresistible manner. Piety, also, is treated with some civility in the characters of Jeanie Deans and her father. It is worthy of observation, however, that this compliment (as judicious as well deserved) is paid by the author to the *established Kirk of his country*.

THE BRIDE OF LAMMERMOOR is highly poetical, picturesque, and sublime. Too horrible, however, for amusement, and, we may add, for improvement. The author has called to the aid of his tale those awful beings,

“ Who stopp'd the moon, and call'd the embody'd shades
To midnight banquets in the glimm'ring glades ;

* Alexander Peden's Life, quoted by Scott, *Border Minst.* vol. iv. p. 95.

Made visionary fabrics round them rise,
 And airy spectres skim before their eyes;
 Of talismans and sigils knew the power,
 And careful watch'd the planetary hour;"

and they have obeyed his summons, and done his bidding, as if they had been awakened by the voice of Shakespeare.

A LEGEND OF MONTROSE borrows its chief interest from the exhibition of that singular privilege, or rather misfortune, said to be inherent in many of the Highlanders, to which Thomson so elegantly alludes :

" As when a shepherd of the Hebrid isles,
 Plac'd far amid the melancholy main,
 (Whether it be lone fancy him beguiles,
 Or that ærial beings sometimes deign
 To stand embodied to our senses plain,)
 Sees, on the naked hill or valley low,
 The whilst in ocean Phœbus dips his wain,
 A vast assembly moving to and fro ;
 Then all at once in air dissolves the wondrous shew."

It affords one among many other happy instances, in which the author has made the local superstitions of his country subservient to the purpose of grand, gloomy, and appalling description. The only quarrel which we

feel with the novel, arises from the writer's invincible dislike to the Covenanters; which seduces him into a false representation of the character of James Marquis of Argyle, "the champion" of the Scotch Puritans. The picture of this nobleman in the "Legend" is that of a dark and systematically cruel chieftain, without honour, generosity, and even common manly spirit; but history vindicates his claim to very opposite qualities. It tells us, that he was "the first character of the age for political courage and conduct;" that he was exemplary in private, and great in public, life; that he fought like a hero, and (when brought to the block by the perfidy of Monk) died like a christian.

The PIRATE is altogether a failure; on ST. RONAN'S WELL we have already given a note; and REDGAUNTLET, the last of the unknown author's stories, reminds us of the war-horse in his decrepitude, divested of his sumptuous trappings, and shrunk in his goodly stature; but, ever and anon, erecting his crest, inflating his nostril, flashing fire from his eye,

and evincing, by his high-born air, that, though his "occupation's gone," he was, heretofore, the glory of the battle, and the pledge of certain victory.

That the TASTE of the public has been greatly improved by the series of novels before us, cannot admit of dispute. A new spirit of strong sense, real feeling, and natural action, has been infused into this species of composition, which all successive novelists must attempt to catch, or be content to sink into immediate neglect. A model of language has been exhibited, energetic in expression, glowing in diction, and pregnant with meaning, which has already supplanted, and will for ever exclude, the mawkish and feeble, or the inflated and unnatural, style of the common run of English novels: a model, which we may venture to predict will continue to be admired and imitated to the very extinction of our vernacular tongue.

Whether the public FEELING and SENTIMENT have been improved to a similar extent with its taste, by our author's works, is a ques-

tion of a more serious nature, and not to be answered in so satisfactory a manner. We are not inclined to be harsh ; but it is imperative upon us to say, that *if the christian faith be any thing more than a human figment, and the statute book of its ordinances be really from God*, the public reverence for both must be impaired, by his almost constantly associating the profession and appearance of holiness (whether assumed or sincere, matters not for the objection) with ludicrous, degrading, or disgusting circumstances ; and by his rash, reckless, and perpetual use of scripture quotations, on base, vulgar, or ridiculous occasions. That *such* an effect could be anticipated by him, it is impossible to suppose. The end contemplated was, doubtless, harmless mirth ; but the means made use of are the instruments of death ; and when the madman in scripture, who “ casteth firebrands and arrows, saith, Am not I in sport ? ” we do not read that the absence of bad intention is received as an excuse for the wanton employment of such mischievous weapons.

As to our author's *political principles*, we would rather speak negatively, than endeavour to analyze them, or predict their probable influence on public SENTIMENT; since they are to be inferred from the general tone and spirit of his novels, rather than gathered from any direct avowals or formal propositions. To us they appear to have nothing in common with those of MILTON, or LOCKE, or SYDNEY, or RUSSELL. If, therefore, these illustrious men were *wrong* in their abstract notions on this subject, our author is *right* in his political creed; and his amusing works may then be considered in the light of an useful antidote to their *prejudices*: since they breathe, throughout, that *bland, narcotic Toryism*, which (like the bat lulling with its wings while it sucks the blood) only requires to become general in a free country, in order to extinguish all popular affection for CIVIL and RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

FINIS.

